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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1903



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REGULATION ON CONTRACT WORKERS BENEFITS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 7, Dec 80 pp 145-147

[Decision on Contract Workers Benefits]

[Text] Part II

The Council of Ministers

Decision No 408, dated 25 September 1980, On Some Regulations Concerning the Workers or Employees Who Are Contracted to Work for a Specific Period

The Council of Ministers, on the basis of Article 23 of the Labor Code, has decided:

1. In regard to workers or employees who are contracted to work for a specific period, the regulations on contract work which are stipulated by the special provisions of the Council of Ministers are to be implemented.

In this case, a written agreement is signed between the enterprise and the worker or employee, according to the model agreement attached to this decision.

2. In the cases when the agreement is extended for another 3-month period, a relevant note is added to the agreement.

3. A worker or employee who is contracted to work for a specific period can be transferred on the basis of Article 94 of the Labor Code only with his consent.

4. When a worker or employee, who is contracted to work for a determined period, must leave in regard to the cases stipulated by "c" and "f" letters of Article 98 of the Labor Code, he is informed 5 days in advance.

5. The worker or employee who is contracted to work for a determined period can leave his job under the conditions of Article 98 of the Labor Code by informing the enterprise, the institution or organization of his departure 5 days in advance.

6. The administration of the enterprise, institution or organization has the right to dismiss a worker or employee who is contracted for a determined period,

MODEL AGREEMENT FOR ENGAGING EMPLOYEES FOR A DETERMINED PERIOD

Today on date in the city of
district of the undersigned:

1. profession
(name, father's name and surname)
2. with the duty of
(name, father's name and surname)

authorized to represent the enterprise

contract this work relationship, on the basis that:

..... is engaged
(name, father's name, surname and profession)

from to

with the salary of leks
(per hour, day or month)

The provisions of the Labor Code and the other legal acts in regard to their execution are compulsory for the two parties, except in cases when, by law or by Decision of the Council of Ministers, it is stipulated differently in the execution of the Labor Code.

The agreement is drafted in two copies, one copy for each party.

.....
Signature of the employee

.....
Signature of the representative of the
enterprise or the institution

without notice, when this worker or employee is unable to carry out the work or task assigned to him; when he engages in activities contradicting the legal provisions; if he repeatedly violates or seriously violates work discipline or if he seriously or repeatedly damages socialist property; if he is arrested for having committed a penal act; and when he temporarily loses his ability to work for a period of more than 15 days. Pregnant women cannot be dismissed from work even when their work disability exceeds 15 days.

7. The worker or employee, contracted to work for a determined period, after 1 month has the right to paid-leave at the rate of one working day for each month worked.

8. The worker or employee who is contracted to work for a determined period has no right to paid-leave for continued full time schooling.

9. The relevant provisions of the Labor Code apply to all other work related issues with regard to the worker or employee contracted to work for a determined period.

10. The Decision of the Council of Ministers No 49 dated 26 May 1967 Some Regulations Concerning Seasonal or Temporary Workers and Employees, modified by Decision No 143 dated 5 November 1968, is abrogated.

This decision comes into force on 1 October 1980.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers
(Mehmet Shehu)

9150

CSO: 2100/79

REGULATION ON EXTENSION OF WORKING HOURS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 7, Dec 80 pp 148-149

[Decision on Extension of Working Hours]

[Text] The Council of Ministers

Decision No 409, dated 25 September 1980, Concerning the Authorization to Extend Daily Working Hours for Some Seasonal Labor and Concerning the Workers and Employees Paid by the State Working in Agricultural Cooperatives and in Village Social and Cultural Institutions

The Council of Ministers, on the basis of Article 30 of the Labor Code, has decided:

1. To allow the extension of the normal working hours up to 10 hours a day, increasing the worker's salary in proportion, for the following seasonal labor:

a) in sowing, hoeing and weeding, harvesting, threshing, picking, irrigating and collection, loading and unloading and handling of agricultural and livestock products such as medicinal and oil seed plants and coniferous products [yielding tannic acid] and flowers during the campaigns;

b) in the production and firing of bricks and tiles;

c) in the production of charcoal and chopping firewood;

d) in the mining of salt in salt-mines;

e) in the dairy plants and in seasonal workshops processing other agricultural produce in the villages.

f) the working hours of waiters, bartenders, cooks and other food service workers in the parks and beaches during the May-September season.

2. The working hours of workers in nurseries and kindergartens and in social and cultural institutions, as well as workers and employees paid by the state working in agricultural cooperatives, is to be coordinated with that of cooperative members, without additional compensation.

3. The Decision of the Council of Ministers No 53, dated 22 April 1968, "On the Authorization of the Extension of Daily Working Hours for Some Seasonal Labor" is abrogated.

This decision comes into force on 1 October 1980.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers
(Mehmet Shehu)

9150

CSO: 2100/79

TYPES OF WORK NOT QUALIFYING AS OVERTIME

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 7, Dec 80 p 150

[Decision On Work Not Qualifying as Overtime]

[Text] The Council of Ministers

Decision No 410, dated 25 September 1980, Concerning Types of Work Which, Because of Their Nature, Cannot Be Executed in a Determined Period of Time

The Council of Ministers, on the basis of Article 31 of the Labor Code, has decided:

In the types of work which, because of their nature, cannot be executed in a determined period of time and are not considered as overtime work, to include:

a) the work of all white collar employees and workers who are subject to on-the-job rules;

b) the work of collectors of agricultural and livestock products; telephone and aerial cable line maintenance personnel; power network public water system personnel if work has not been organized into three shifts; village parcel mail deliverers and press distributors; food service personnel and their aids, if work cannot be organized into shifts; railway personnel and herdsmen who transport goods from remote areas, drivers and their aids and all types of motor vehicles' repair workers.

This decision comes into force on 1 October 1980.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers
(Mehmet Shehu)

9150

CSO: 2100/79

REGULATIONS ON PROTECTING WORKERS FROM DANGEROUS SUBSTANCES

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 7, Dec 80 pp 151-153

[Regulations on Protecting Workers from Dangerous Substances]

[Text] The Council of Ministers

Decision No 411, dated 25 September 1980, On Criteria and Regulations for Providing Workers and Employees with Means of Protection, Special Clothings and Footwear, Antidotes, Counteragents and Supplementary Nutrition, Soap and Working Clothes

The Council of Ministers, on the basis of Article 77 of the Labor Code, has decided:

1. The worker or employee must receive gratuitously the following standard articles:

a) Special clothing and footwear, and protective clothing (overalls, blouses, oil clothes, vests, fur coats, trousers and sweaters made of [Albanian: vati], heat shielding (asbestos) clothes, aprons, shoes, boots, glasses, hats, gloves, and other articles) if he works:

--in the presence of corrosive, combustible or poisonous substances;

--in underground places;

--under conditions of intense heat or steam;

--in the presence of water or dampness that affects health;

--and in outside environment under low temperatures or in high area above sea level;

--in contact with elements which rapidly dirty clothing and footwear, such as petroleum, dyes, oils and various chemical substances such as lime and cement;

--in the sectors where personal cleanliness and hygiene is required, such as the food industry, and trade network, the social food sector, livestock raising, and in health care, medical, educational and cultural institutions;

--in closed environments where health detrimental dust is created.

b) Antidotes and counteragents and supplementary nutrition if he works:

--in an environment with poisonous substances which are harmful to health;

--in places and with processes where the worker consumes considerable energy resulting in weight loss.

c) Soap, if the work place or work process requires personal hygiene and cleanliness and if the worker is subjected to the presence and use of various soiling substances.

2. The granting of special clothing and footwear, working clothes and protective means and determining the type to be used and the time to and place to be used at every work place, are established by the Ministry or by the institution which has the main activities, after having received the opinion of the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Finance and the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions. The ministries and other central institutions are obliged to implement these norms for their helping auxiliary activities, when work is carried out under the same conditions.

3. The type and norm of antidote, counteragent and supplementary nutrition, are approved by the Ministry of Health in cooperation with the other responsible institution, after having received the opinion of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions.

4. The work place and work process, where the worker is provided with soap, is determined by the management of the enterprise or of the institution.

5. Special clothing and footwear, working clothing, protective means, antidotes, counteragent, supplementary nutrition and soap are to be used or consumed by the worker or employee solely in the work place.

6. So that the special clothing and footwear, working clothing and protective means are correctly used for a longer period in enterprises and institutions or at the work place, dressing rooms or special compartments must be built to serve the workers for dressing and washing up.

The enterprise or institution must take measures to keep them in good condition and to repair them when needed.

7. Special clothing and footwear, working clothes and protective means are replaced with new ones when the period established for their use has passed or when they are no longer functional. The worker or employee is given new clothing and footwear after he has returned the old one.

8. When the worker or employee is transferred or leaves his work place, even if he moves from one work place to another where special clothing and footwear, working clothes or means of protection are not gratuitously given, he is to return the

clothing and footwear and equipment with which he was encharged or is to return the equivalent of their remaining values, in proportion with the period of their utilization.

9. In order to protect the health of workers and employees, and to make the most correct use of the protective means, special clothing and footwear, working clothes, antidotes, counteragents and nutrition, the ministries, other central institutions, enterprises and other institutions must continually take measures to improve the working conditions and technical safety.

This decision comes into force on 1 October 1980.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers
(Mehmet Shehu)

9150

CSO: 2100/79

REGULATIONS ON LEAVE WITHOUT PAY

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 7, Dec 80 pp 154-155

[Regulations on Leave Without Pay]

[Text] The Council of Ministers

Decision No 412, dated 25 September 1980, On the Criteria and Terms of Granting Workers and Employees Leave Without Pay of up to 12 Work Days a Year

The Council of Ministers, on the basis of Article 40 of the Labor Code, has decided:

1. Leave without pay of up to 12 work days a year can be granted by the administration of the enterprise, the institution or the organization by request of the worker or the employee, when it deems it legal and when his absence does not cause any damage to work, in accordance with the following criteria:

a) for a longer stay at a sanitarium or at a health resort with the recommendation of health authorities, after the ordinary leave and supplementary leave have been consumed;

b) to assist a sick member of the family, when he is alone, and the health authorities have recommended that medical attention be carried out at home;

c) to eliminate the consequences of a natural disaster caused to the family dwelling;

d) because of family reasons, when it is deemed that his presence with his family is necessary;

e) to a pregnant woman who has not yet given birth and when her pregnancy leave has been consumed.

2. Leave without pay of up to 12 days a year is granted in writing by the enterprise manager and, in his absence, by his substitute, stating the number of days that have been granted.

This decision comes into force on 1 October 1980.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers
(Mehmet Shehu)

LAW, UKASES REFLECTING CHANGES IN STATE OFFICES

Sofia DURNHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 23 Jun 81 pp 577-580

[Text] Ukase No 1224

In accordance with Article 84, paragraph 1, and Article 93, point 6, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the National Assembly hereby

Decrees:

The publication DURNHAVEN VESTNIK of the Law Amending and Supplementing the Law on State and People's Control.

Issued in Sofia on 18 June 1981 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: N. Manolov

Law on Amendments and Supplements to the Law on State and People's Control

(Published in DV, No 54, 1974; amended and supplemented, No 64, 1976; No 32, 1977; and No 57, 1978)

1. Article 1, paragraph 2 shall be amended to read as follows:

"(2) The organs for state and people's control shall work under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the National Assembly and the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic."

2. Article 8 shall be amended to read as follows:

1. The second sentence of paragraph 1 shall be amended as follows: "It shall operate under the direct management of the State Council."

2. Paragraph 2 shall be amended to read as follows:

"(2) The Committee for State and People's Control shall report on its activities to the National Assembly and, between National Assembly sessions, to the State Council."

3. Article 9, paragraph 2, shall be amended to read as follows:

"(2) The chairman of the Committee for State and People's Control shall be elected by the National Assembly. The deputy chairmen and members of the committee shall be appointed by the State Council."

4. Article 17, points 6 and 7, shall be amended and supplemented as follows:

"6. Suggest changes in the laws to the State Council and other legal acts to the organs which issue them;

"7. Inform the National Assembly and its permanent commissions, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of changes made and submit suggestions on improving the work of executive organs;"

Concluding Stipulations

5. The implementation of this law is entrusted to the chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

6. The present law shall become effective as of the day of its adoption.

The law was adopted by the Eighth National Assembly in its first session, first sitting, held on 16 June 1981.

Chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic: St. Todorov

Ukase No 1225

In accordance with Article 84, paragraph 1, and Article 93, point 6, of the constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Decrees:

The publication in DURSIAVEN VESTNIK of the decision on the appointment of deputy chairmen, the secretary and the members of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Issued in Sofia on 18 June 1981 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: N. Manolov

Decision on the Appointment of Deputy Chairmen, the Secretary and the Members of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic

In accordance with Article 78, point 16, and Article 92 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Eighth National Assembly

Resolves:

Appoints as deputy chairmen, secretary and members of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic:

Petur Tanchev:	First deputy chairman
Peko Takev	Deputy chairman
Georgi Atanasov	Deputy chairman and chairman of the Committee for State and People's Control
Georgi Dahagarov	Deputy chairman
Mitko Grigorov	Deputy chairman
Yaroslav Radev	Deputy chairman
Nikola Manolov	Secretary

Members:

Aleksandur Lilov
Angel Balevski
Angel Dimitrov
Angel Shishkov
Vladimir Bonev
Elena Lagadinova
Emil Khristov
Zhivko Zhivkov
Ivanka Dikova
Ivan Panev
Krustyu Trichkov
Nayda Perkhadova
Nikolay Zhishev
Ognyan Doynov
Panteley Zarev
Pencho Kubadiniski
Petur Dyulgerov
Radi Kuzmanov
Stanka Shopova
Stoyan Tonchev
Tsola Dragoycheva

The present resolution was adopted by the Eighth National Assembly, first session, second sitting, held on 17 June 1981, and was sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic: St. Todorov

Ukase No 1226

On the basis of Article 84, paragraph 1, and Article 93, point 6, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Decrees:

The publication in DUMZHAVEN VESTNIK of the resolution on the merging, closing down and renaming of ministries and other departments.

Issued in Sofia on 18 June 1981 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: N. Manolov

Resolution on the Merging, Closing Down or Renaming of Ministries and Other Departments

On the basis of Article 78, point 14, and Article 100 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Eighth National Assembly

Resolves:

1. Merges the Ministry of Machine Building with the Ministry of Electronics and Electrical Engineering. The new ministry shall be known as the Ministry of Machine Building and Electronics.
2. Merges the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials with the Committee for Architecture and Public Works. The new ministry shall be known as Ministry of Construction and Architecture.
3. Abolishes the Ministry of Supply and State Reserves.
4. Abolishes the Committee for Labor and Wages.
5. Abolishes the State Standardization Committee.
6. Assigns to the Council of Ministers to name the organs and organizations which will assume the corresponding activities of the abolished ministries and other departments.
7. Abolishes the Council for Territorial and Settlement Structure of the Council of Ministers.
8. Assigns to the Council of Ministers to form commissions headed by deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers to coordinate operatively and comprehensively specific activities and to formulate resolutions binding to the corresponding organs and organizations.

The present resolution was adopted by the Eighth National Assembly, first session, second sitting, held on 17 June 1981 and was sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic: St. Todorov

Ukase No 1227

On the basis of Article 84, paragraph 1, and Article 93, point 6, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Decrees:

The publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK of the resolution on the appointment of deputy chairmen and members of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Issued in Sofia on 18 June 1981 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: I. Manolov

Resolution on the Appointment of Deputy Chairmen and Members of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic

On the basis of Article 78, point 16, and Article 101 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Eighth National Assembly

Resolves:

Appoints the following as deputy chairmen and members of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic:

Todor Boshinov	First deputy chairman
Andrey Lukanov	Deputy chairman
Georgi Yordanov	Deputy chairman
Grigor Stoichkov	Deputy chairman
Kiril Zarev	Deputy chairman and chairman of the State Committee for Planning
Stamen Stamenov	Deputy chairman and minister of metallurgy and mineral resources
Stanish Bonev	Deputy chairman
Belcho Belchev	Minister of finance
Nacho Papazov	Chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress
Lyudmila Zhivkova	Chairman of the Committee for Culture
Dimitur Stoyanov	Minister of internal affairs
Dobri Dzhurov	Minister of national defense
Petur Mladenov	Minister of foreign affairs
Aleksandur Fol	Minister of public education
Nikola Todoriev	Minister of power supply
Georgi Pankov	Minister of chemical industry
Toncho Chakurov	Minister of machine building and electrical engineering
Rumen Serbezov	Minister of light industry
Aleksandur Petkov	Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the National Agroindustrial Union
Ivan Sakarev	Minister of construction and architecture
Vasil Tsanov Ivanov	Minister of transportation
Georgi Karamanev	Minister of internal trade and public services
Khristo Khristov	Minister of foreign trade
Yanko Markov	Minister of forests and forest industry

Pando Vanchev	Minister of communications
Radoy Popivanov	Minister of public health
Svetla Daskalova	Minister of justice
Dimitur Zhulev	Minister, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the Soviet Union
Veselin Nikiforov	Chairman of the Bulgarian National Bank
Georgi Pavlov	Chairman of the Committee for the Protection of the Environment.

This resolution was adopted by the Eighth National Assembly, first session, second sitting, held on 17 June 1981, and was sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic: St. Todorov

Ukase No 1228

On the basis of Article 84, paragraph 1, and Article 93, point 6, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Decrees:

The publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK of the resolution on the nomination of the members of the Supreme Court of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Issued in Sofia on 18 June 1981 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the
State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: N. Manolov

Resolution on the Election of Members of the Supreme Court of the Bulgarian People's Republic

On the basis of Article 78, point 16, Article 128 and Article 132, paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, related to Article 61, paragraph 3, of the Law on the Structure of the Courts, the Eighth National Assembly

Resolves:

Elects the following as members of the Supreme Court of the Bulgarian People's Republic:

Chairman:
Ivan Velinov Mitov

Deputy chairmen:

1. Ivan Tsonev Palazov
2. Sava Tsolov Manchev
3. Col Milan Ilchev Angelov

Department Chairmen:

1. Milcho Teodosiev Krustev
2. Damyan Nikolov Damyanov
3. Bocho Petrov Ninov
4. Nedko Ivanov Markov
5. Tasho Markov Tashev
6. Boyan Panteleymonov Yosifov
7. Lyuben Naydenov Grozdanov

Associate Justices:

1. Lyubomir Vasilev Atanasov
2. Ventseslav Vladislavov Ochkov
3. Solomon Izrael Rozanis
4. Ivan Filchev Marinov
5. Ivan Alekov Antonov
6. Khristo Georgiev Studenchev
7. Asen Dimitrov Manov
8. Atanas Borisov Ivanov
9. Sava Danchev Savov
10. Ruska Georgieva Vaneva
11. Yordan Stefanov Ang'ozov
12. Col Marin Vasilev [the third word illegible]
13. Decho Dimitrov Yakov
14. Kiril Petkov Ivanov
15. Ivan Dimitrov Androv
16. Mladen Danailov Mitov
17. Dobri Lazarov Petrunov
18. Angel Nikolov Yurukov
19. Malina Vasileva Dobрева
20. Violeta Khristova Stoyanova
21. Todorka Aleksandrova Malincheva
22. Damyanka Yordanova Vodenicharska
23. Stanko Vulkov Petkov
24. Todor Stoyanov Todorov
25. Serafim Iliev Ivanov
26. Col Doycho Momchev Badzhakov
27. Col Bozhin Yotov Ivanov
28. Iliya Purvanov Mateev
29. Ivan Donkov Ivanov
30. Yanka Dimitrova Ivanova
31. Ivan Khristov Efremov
32. Kliment Stefanov Shivachev
33. Ana Nikolova Bozhkova
34. Milena Nikolova Zhabinska
35. Polikseniya Krusteva Moynova
36. Mikhail Iliev Mikhaylov
37. Boris Sotirov Balabanov
38. Khristo Petrov Kovachev
39. Gospodin Georgiev Gospodinov

The present resolution was passed by the Eighth National Assembly, first session, second sitting, held on 17 June 1981, and was sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic: St. Todorov

Ukase No 1229

On the basis of Article 84, paragraph 1, and Article 93, point 6, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Decrees:

The publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK of the resolution on the nomination of jurors of the Supreme Court of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Issued in Sofia on 18 June 1981 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: N. Manolov

Resolution on the Appointment of Jurors of the Supreme Court of the Bulgarian People's Republic

On the basis of Article 128 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, in connection with Article 64, paragraph 3, of the Law on the Structure of Courts, the Eighth National Assembly

Resolves:

Appoints as jurors of the Supreme Court of the Bulgarian People's Republic:

1. Demir Borachev
2. Zhivko Milanov
3. Nadya Zhivkova
4. Mariya Zakharieva
5. Vladimir Kalaydzhiev
6. Misho Nikolov
7. Boyan Georgiev
8. Khristo Orlovski
9. Petur Panayotov
10. Boris Spasov
11. Aleksandur Todorov
12. Kamen Kamenov
13. Stefan Krumov
14. Penka Dudunekova
15. Marin Petrov
16. Gin'o Ganev
17. Mladen Kostov
18. Vasil Zanchev

19. V rban Dzhambov
20. Martin Sarov
21. Dimitur Karamukov
22. Dimitur Petrov
23. Georgi Evtimov
24. Kosta Keremedchiev
25. Stoyan Zlatanov
26. Georgi Georgiev
27. Yordan Tsvetanov
28. Gerasim Mitrov
29. Ivanka Vasileva
30. Milko Stefanov

The resolution was adopted by the Eighth National Assembly, first session, second sitting, held on 17 June 1981, and was sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic: St. Todorov

Ukase No 1230

On the basis of Article 84, paragraph 1, and Article 93, point 6, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Decrees:

The publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK of the resolution on the appointment of a prosecutor general of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Issued in Sofia on 18 June 1981 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: N. Manolov

Resolution on the Election of a Prosecutor General of the Bulgarian People's Republic

On the basis of Article 78, point 16, and Article 134 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic and Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Law on the Prosecutor's Office, the Eighth National Assembly

Resolves:

Appoints as prosecutor general of the Bulgarian People's Republic Prof Kostadin Nikolov Lyutov, people's representative from Sofia City.

This resolution was adopted by the Eighth National Assembly, first session, second sitting, held on 17 June 1981, and was sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic: St. Todorov

5003

CSO: 2200/107

OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON VISIT OF FRG'S DREGGER

[Editorial Report] AU091252 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 8 July 1981 on page 5 carries a 1,100-word undated interview given by Ivan Kramar, section head at the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to Ivan Kulhanek headlined "For Goodneighborly Relations With the FRG." The interview is devoted to the "recent" private visit by Alfred Dregger, deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the FRG Bundestag, to Prague and his unofficial talk with CSSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Dusan Spacil and is meant as a response to "some statements" made by Dregger on this talk in FRG media after his return home. However, nothing is revealed about the nature of Dregger's statements.

Kramar first characterizes Spacil's talk with Dregger, which took place at the latter's request, as "useful" and its atmosphere as "frank." Asked about the topics that were discussed, Kramar says that "the main attention was focused on some aspects of the policy of detente." He mentions that even though, "as expected," Dregger "defended the positions of the present American administration" and the decision to deploy medium-range missiles in Western Europe "one aspect, a not insignificant one, was remarkable." It was, according to Kramar, the fact that "even the protagonist of the CDU/CSU's rightwing, Alfred Dregger, expressed doubts about the U.S. administration's good will when he said that he believes in its intention to begin negotiations by the end of this year, but added that should it refuse to negotiate 'it will lose our confidence.'"

Kramar further notes that the discussion between Spacil and Dregger also concerned the developments in Poland but "only marginally." He says: "Alfred Dregger expressed his 'concern' over developments in the Polish People's Republic and asked for our assessment of the situation. We reiterated what we have already said more than once in that connection: We support the efforts of all socialist and patriotic forces in the Polish People's Republic and are helping them, together with other socialist countries, to alleviate and overcome the present difficulties, especially the burdensome situation in the economic sphere. However, it is known that the Western press repeats ad nauseam speculations about some sort of a threat of 'military assistance' by the Warsaw pact countries. We also told Alfred Dregger clearly that the speculations about a 'military threat' are being spread in the West, not in our country. Moreover, those speculations are being stirred up to such an extent that the impression is created that in this case some Western circles' wish is obviously father to the thought."

Spacil and Dregger also discussed CSSR-FRG relations, according to Kramar. The Czechoslovak side reportedly pointed to the existence of "considerable hidden potential, untapped possibilities, but also obstacles hampering the development of mutual cooperation, obstacles that are not being created on our side." Asked about what specifically he was referring to, Kramar says: "That concerns, for example, questions, the very formulation of which constitutes blatant interference in our country's internal affairs. A separate chapter in this respect is the activity of a large part of the West German information media. We categorically reject it and that is also what we clearly told Alfred Dregger."

Commenting in his concluding answer on the prospects of CSSR-FRG relations, Kramar notes that Czechoslovakia "is unequivocally and resolutely in favor of developing goodneighborly relations with the FRG" and "ready to follow up the progress achieved in that respect in the last few years." However, for this to happen it is necessary, according to Kramar, that "the other side approaches the development of mutual relations with a fully positive and constructive policy respecting differences in the social systems and refraining from interfering in internal affairs, with a policy in the interest of further developing detente and reinforcing security and cooperation on our continent."

CSO: 2400/263

BRIEFS

DELEGATE TO MOSCOW--Zdenek Horeni, deputy chief editor of the CPCZ's daily RUDE PRAVO, is representing his paper at the Moscow meeting of representatives of 67 central press organs of communist and workers parties that was opened on 6 July and is being held to exchange opinions and experience in the party press' fight for detente, peace, the defense of people's basic interests and lives, and against the growing danger of war connected with imperialist actions for increasing feverish armament. [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 7 Jul 81 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400/263

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STOPH, OTHER OFFICIALS ADDRESS PEOPLE'S CHAMBER SESSION

Stoph Address

AU091151 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Jun 81 pp 3-4

[Government statement by Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, before the People's Chamber on 26 June 1981]

[Text] Esteemed deputies! At the constituent meeting of the People's Chamber on 23 June 1981 I was elected GDR Council of Ministers chairman in accordance with the decision of the SED Central Committee upon the proposal of its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, and was entrusted with forming the Council of Ministers.

I am most anxious, esteemed deputies, to thank you very cordially for the confidence you have shown. Aware of the responsibility bestowed on me, I would like to assure you, elected representatives of our people, that true to the lofty ideals of socialism and peace I shall do everything within my power for the interests of the workers class and all other working people, for the well-being of the entire people in our socialist fatherland.

On the basis of our constitution, in accordance with the decision of the SED Central Committee as well as in accordance with the parties and mass organizations of the democratic block and the GDR National Front I propose that you elect the following members of the Council of Ministers:

As first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers: Werner Krolikowski, Alfred Neumann.

As deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers: Manfred Flegel, Hans-Joachim Heuninger, Guenther Kleiber, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, Dr Hans Reichelt, Gerhard Schuerer, Rudolph Schulze, Dr Gerhard Weis, and Dr Herbert Weis.

As members of the Council of Ministers: Otto Arndt, Dr Gerhard Beil, Wolfgang Beyrouther, Dr Manfred Bochmann, Prof Hans-Joachim Boehme, Gerhard Briksa, Werner Buschmann, Friedrich Dickel, Oskar Fischer, Dr Rudi Georgi, Werner Greiner-Petters, Wolfgang Gress, Walter Halbritter, Ernest Hoefner, Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, Dr Honoris Causa Heinz-Hoffman, Dr Honoris Causa Margot Honecker, Wolfgang Junker, Horst Kaminsky, Rolf Kersten, Heinz Klopfer, Erhard Krack, Heinz

Kuhrig, Prof Dr Ludwig Mecklinger, Erich Mielke, Wolfgang Mitzinger, Hans Sattler, Dr Ing Kurt Singhuber, Horst Soelle, Otfried Steger, Dr Albert Stief, Dr Udo-Dieter Wange, Guenther Wyschofsky.

The persons proposed by me are tried and trusted officials, who have already proved their loyalty to the worker-and-peasant power and have accomplished successful work either as members of the Council of Ministers or in other responsible state and social positions.

Esteemed deputies! With their clear decision for the candidates of the National Front the citizens of the GDR reaffirmed their will in the national elections on 14 June 1981, to enter the path, outlined by the 10th SED Congress, to the further successful shaping of the developed socialist society. This is a convincing declaration of support

--For the further implementation of the main tasks in its unity of economic and social unity;

--For the further strengthening of our socialist fatherland;

--For the consolidation of our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community; and

--For the safeguarding of peace.

The result of the elections is simultaneously an expression of the increased political and moral unity of the people, manifested in the unshakeable ties between the working people and the Marxist-Leninist party of the workers class and our socialist state.

The decisions of the 10th SED Congress, which magnificently reaffirmed the leading role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party as well as its proven policy of alliance, form the basis of the work of the Council of Ministers. The government of our worker-and-peasant power deems it its supreme duty to continue making its contribution to strengthening the socialist family of nations, firmly rallied around the Soviet Union in the future, and to work for a secure peace. That is the reliable foundation, on which our policy, serving the well-being of our citizens and directed toward the happiness of the entire people, develops.

Proceeding from that which has been achieved so far and being aware of the increased demands, we will tackle the new tasks for universally strengthening our socialist state, which represents the interests of the entire people.

The work of the government is guided by the decision of the 10th party congress to continue the course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy also under the changed conditions of the 1980's in order to secure and gradually further develop the attained material and cultural living standards of the people.

The close alliance of the workers class with cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all other working people whose vital strength has again been confirmed in the elections, is the political foundation of this. In this legislative period, too, the Council of Ministers will rely on the proven cooperation of the parties and mass organizations in the democratic block and the National Front of the GDR and further shape socialist democracy.

In the over 30-year existence of the GDR, the government, thanks to the comprehensive, self-denying cooperation and initiative of the citizens, always fulfilled the set targets to the benefit of the working people. We want to assure you that this will also be the case in the years ahead. All members of the Council of Ministers will do their utmost for this.

[AU091152] Esteemed deputies! In its foreign policy, which is directed towards peace and international understanding, the government will be guided by the historical truth that the vital interests of the GDR concur with the interests of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community on the common basis of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist social system.

The indestructible fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the firm place of the GDR in the socialist community of states always proved for our people to be the reliable, stable foundation of their security and successes. In the future, too, we shall do everything to strengthen these ties and instill fresh life every day into the GDR-USSR treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual aid.

The intensification and development of our relations with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states will in the future, too, remain the center of the international activity of the GDR. It will always make its contribution to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist community of states and work for the further consolidation of the Warsaw treaty organization as the coordinating center of our common defense, security and foreign policy. We are linked by fraternal friendship and cooperation with Cuba and Vietnam, who are in the forefront of socialism. In view of the growing attempts by world imperialism to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries or violate their sovereignty we declare our determination to defend socialism against every aggression.

Dear deputies! Socialism and peace are one, Comrade Erich Honecker pointed out at the 10th party congress. Just as the socialist construction edifice needs peace, so its results make peace even more solid. In view of the confrontation course and high speed arming policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles, the important thing precisely now is to come out with full determination for peace, because the existence of present and future generations depends on it.

Nothing is more urgent today than to banish the threat of a nuclear world conflagration and to strengthen international security. That is why we shall patiently and unswervingly work with all our might for this noble cause of mankind. An end to the arms race, the defense and widening of political detente as well as its stabilization by measures of military detente and disarmament are and remain the declared objectives of our foreign policy. We thus abide by the

fundamental principle of our state policy to do everything so that a war would never again start from German soil.

Talks and agreements on the fundamental questions of peaceful coexistence and not confrontation--that is the consistent course pursued by the GDR together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries in shaping international relations.

We wholly support the great action program for peace, announced by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress. We wholeheartedly hail the appeal which the Supreme Soviet of the USSR addressed to the parliaments and peoples of the world from its recent session.

In accordance with the peace concept of the 10th SED Congress the GDR is working actively to ensure that these proposals of extremely great world political significance lead to practical results and bring about a lasting improvement in the international situation. We are in favor of the resumption of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation and reduction of strategic armaments which were unilaterally broken off by the United States.

The GDR regards the Soviet proposal for a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe as an important step to the limitation and ultimate reduction of military confrontation on the European continent. We are convinced that there is no type of weapon on the limitation or reduction of which agreement cannot be reached, provided reciprocity is maintained and the principle of equality and equal security is strictly adhered to.

To adopt a mandate for convening an overall European conference on military detente and disarmament remains the most important task, set to the Madrid followup conference of the Helsinki conference.

It will be the concern of the GDR in the future, as well, to achieve efficient measures on disarmament in central Europe at the Vienna negotiations. It is up to the Western participants to implement a change toward constructive cooperation.

With the nationally liberated states and with all the peoples who are struggling for their national and social liberation we are linked by the anti-imperialist struggle for peace and social progress and against colonialism, racism and apartheid, against imperialist tutelage and interference. We will consistently continue this proved policy of active anti-imperialist solidarity and manifold cooperation on the basis of equality.

On the basic issues of our time the words of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America gain more and more importance. The GDR welcomes and supports this development. The treaties on friendship and cooperation, concluded in 1979, introduced a new phase in the relations of the GDR with a number of these countries. On this basis our republic will actively contribute to guaranteeing a high political content of the relations and shape them in a complex manner.

[AU091153] The GDR pays tribute to the movement of the nonaligned countries, whose strength and influence issue from their anti-imperialist aims.

The GDR strongly condemns the imperialist policy of stirring up international conflicts and centers of tension, be it in the Middle East, in the Persian Gulf, in the Indian Ocean or in the south of Africa. Such acts are directed against the interests of the young states and against world peace. We support the peaceful elimination of the centers of conflict through political negotiations. We unreservedly support the Soviet proposal to convene an international conference to solve the Middle East problem.

Especially in a situation where so much is at stake for the peaceful life of the peoples, the GDR, together with its allies, is working unswervingly to guarantee the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. In this it will continue to implement exactly the Helsinki Final Act as a whole, as a program for the consolidation of detente in all its main directions.

With regard to the Federal Republic of Germany, as with other capitalist states, the GDR's policy is determined by the principles of peaceful coexistence. If in this policy we place the safeguarding of peace at the center, then this has international implications because normal relations between the two German states are--and not only for the situation in Europe--of great international significance.

The GDR will therefore not flag in its efforts for goodneighborly relations with the FRG, but the arms buildup and the adherence to revanchist doctrines such as "the continuing existence of the German Reich within the 1937 frontiers" are facts that hamper further progress in the normalization of relations, and even endanger what has been achieved.

The unconditional respect for the existence of two independent, sovereign states with different social systems, including the recognition of GDR state citizenship and the frontier between the GDR and the FRG as a state frontier, are therefore indispensable requirements. Strict observance of the norms of international law and full acceptance of responsibility for peace--only this leads to new, positive results in relations between the GDR and the FRG.

The United Nations occupies an important place in the life of peoples and countries and assumes great responsibility in issues of war and peace. Especially in periods of aggravated international tensions the United Nations plays an important role in guaranteeing world peace and strengthening international security. The United Nations is called on to participate in paving the way toward true measures of military detente. This is taken into account by the Soviet proposal to convene a special meeting of the Security Council with the participation of the highest representatives of its member countries in order to find solutions for improving the international situation and for preventing war. The GDR actively supports implementation of this proposal.

Our republic, which continues to commit itself unreservedly to the aims and principles of the United Nations, reaffirms its readiness to continue to work on the basis of the UN Charter to strengthen the effectiveness of the world organization in safeguarding peace, in consolidating the independence of states, and international cooperation.

Esteemed deputies! In its domestic policy the Council of Ministers will consistently pursue the political course of the main task--adopted by the 10th SED Congress and backed by the consent and will of the workers class and all working people--of raising the material and cultural living standards of the people on the basis of a high rate of development of socialist production, rising efficiency, scientific-technological progress and growing labor productivity. This policy of ours is in harmony with the fundamental economic law of socialism. It serves the welfare of the people and gives new impetus to solving the bigger tasks, ahead of us.

Full employment, the prosperity of the people, growth and stability have been the pillars of our economic and social policy. That is what they are today and that is what they will remain.

This course of ours distinguishes itself beneficially and with increasing evidence from the crisis developments in the capitalist states in the West where stagnation, the fall of production, unemployment and social cuts can no longer be denied even by the most zealous champions of a "free market economy."

The work of the government is guided by the statement of the 10th SED Congress that the Council of Ministers is responsible for the running of the entire national economy and that the solution of the tasks connected with this form the main content of its activity. From this emerges the commitment to implement the economic strategy for the 1980's purposefully and with the utmost efficiency, as expounded by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee in his report to the 10th party congress.

Proceeding from the awareness that the possibilities of the scientific-technological revolution have directly become the major reserve of performance growth and efficiency of our national economy, the Council of Ministers will center its activities on the fulfillment of the targets in the sphere of science and technology. We appeal to the workers, scientists, engineers and innovators in all fields of our economy to support us with passion, perseverance and creative energy.

[AU091154] In accordance with the--even compared internationally--high personnel, material and financial expenditure of our state on science and technology we expect from our intelligentsia, as the reliable alliance partner of the workers class, such achievements in research, development and in translating the findings into profitable production that make it possible to keep pace with the scientific-technological revolution in the world and even gain some ground.

The government will be guided in its work by the fact that science and technology considerably influence the effectiveness with which all other main points of our economic strategy are implemented.

Independent of the fact of whether in the increase of labor productivity, the effective use of raw materials and fuels or the basic funds, the increase of the effectiveness of investments, the production of more and better consumer goods or other economic tasks are concerned, science and technology play an important role everywhere.

The directive on the 5-year plan on the development of the national economy of the GDR in 1981-85, adopted by the 10th SED Congress, contains all those objectives which we must attain in the next 5 years. They serve as a basis of the state tasks for elaborating the 1981-85 5-year plan.

Now hundreds of thousands of collectives in the enterprises of industry, agriculture and the construction and transportation sectors, in scientific institutions and in all other fields of our national economy are discussing the tasks resulting for them. The first results of numerous creative plan consultations that have been submitted so far demonstrate the great readiness to translate the tasks set by the 10th party congress into concrete plan targets. They testify to the will to meet the objectively higher demands of the 1980's by increasing achievements. Last but not least one has to stress the initiatives of the young generation, which have been convincingly expressed at the 11th FDJ Parliament.

The Council of Ministers will make sure that all proposals and remarks, resulting from the public debate on the 5-year plan directive, are taken up accurately, verified and utilized for the necessary growth in performance of the national economy.

The debate on the state tasks of the 1981-1985 5-year plan, which also include the targets for 1982, is closely linked with the struggle to fulfill the plan for 1981. The strength of our socialist democracy is being proved here a thousand times over, and the great willingness to cooperate, to participate in planning and government is being confirmed.

It is above all the workers class, led by our Marxist-Leninist party, and its greatest mass organization, the FDGB, which, by correctly linking socialist competition for the fulfillment of the 1981 plan with the discussion on the new tasks for the coming years, is demonstrating in an exemplary manner how the efficiency of the economy can be increased in the interest of the entire people.

From the rostrum of the Supreme People's Assembly, the government declares its firm intention to continue its close and comradely cooperation with the FDGB.

The Council of Ministers and its bodies, to be elected today, will have the priority task to complete the draft of the 1981-1985 plan rapidly after completion of the plan discussion, and submit the bill on the 5-year plan to the People's Chamber. When the supreme power body of our state makes its decision the legal foundations for the steady, planned proportional development of our national economy and for the activities of all state bodies, establishments of the economy, science and all other spheres will be created for the years until 1985.

Esteemed deputies! The Council of Ministers is proceeding from the fact that national industry significantly determines the performance increase of our economy. In this connection the Council of Ministers considers as greatly important the further development of a production structure that is in line with the demands of the scientific-technological revolution, meets the demands of the national economy and the conditions of the foreign markets, as well as the increase of quality and effectiveness of production.

In accordance with the necessity to essentially ensure the future development of performance with unchanging or only slightly rising quantities of energy and raw materials, we will turn especially toward strengthening the domestic energy and raw material bases. The development of the lignite industry, the growing refinement of the raw materials and production materials in metallurgy, chemistry, the processing sectors and branches, the establishment of complete arrangements for the recycling of raw materials, as well as the further improvement of energy and material economy will be the main fields of activity.

In accordance with the economic strategy for the 1980's the metal processing industry will aim at purposefully expanding the production of equipment and machinery as well as of attachments and spare parts, by making comprehensive use of microelectronics. This is of decisive importance, not only for the planned development of the material-technological basis, but also for increasing export capacity.

At the same time the Council of Ministers will make sure that substantially more and better consumer goods are produced, above all on the basis of domestic raw materials or those available in the socialist countries. This also applies to the metal processing industry, including combines, manufacturing the means of production, and to spheres of the basic materials industry.

[AUG91155] The workers, engineers, scientists and all other people employed in our industry will have to face great and responsible tasks. We are convinced that our experienced workers class will successfully master these tasks in close cooperation with the intelligentsia.

The government considers that further development of the construction sector is of great importance for strengthening the performance capacity of our national economy and for steadily continuing the housing program.

We appeal to all those employed in our republic's construction industry to rapidly increase the share of reconstruction and rationalization measures while further developing industrial construction, as well as to increase the maintenance and repairing of apartments while building anew and modernizing at the same time. In general, the main thing is to build even more efficiently and decrease the social expenditure considerably.

Implementing the SED's agricultural policy will be an important concern of the government. It aims at further strengthening the alliance between the workers class and cooperative farmers as well as socialist production conditions in the countryside. At the same time this is the secure basis for a stable supply of the population with foodstuffs and of industry with important raw materials.

We are deeply convinced that the cooperative farmers and the agricultural workers will guarantee the people's daily bread and all that which also belongs to good and sufficient nutrition by increasingly better cultivation and use of the soil, by reasonable utilization of the basic means--which have considerably increased in the past years--and by further increasing the production of animal products on the basis of fodder production.

The discussion on the directive of the 10th SED Party Congress on the 5-year plan has revealed that the working people of our agriculture and forestry are coming up to their great responsibility and are understanding better and better to shape the reproduction process with the highest efficiency.

Additional reserves are in the careful harvesting, storing and processing of all agricultural products with the lowest losses, reserves which have to be developed in the interest of increasing our national income and to the benefit of each individual. As early as in the upcoming corn and root-crop harvest and the autumn cultivation it is determined which contribution agriculture can make to strengthening the national economy.

The Council of Ministers will undertake all necessary measures to increase the performance capacity of our agriculture and will pay attention to further strengthening the class alliance between the workers and the cooperative farmers a new LPG law and an agricultural price reform in cooperation with the cooperative farmers.

In the interest of supplying the population with foodstuffs and industry with raw materials every opportunity will be used to manufacture agricultural products in the individual household economies of the cooperative farmers and agricultural workers. We will also support the efforts of small garden plot holders, landholders and breeders of small animals to increase their production and organize the smoothly functioning sale of their products.

In developing transportation and the post and telecommunications sectors the Council of Ministers will pay special attention to qualitatively and quantitatively increasing services to the population, in particular in the commuter and short-distance traffic and in the post and newspaper sectors. At the same time it is important to even more efficiently meet the demand of the national economy and decrease costs by rationally shaping goods transportation.

The government considers the constant improvement of the supply of the population with consumer goods and services to be a priority obligation.

In the forefront stands the continuous supply with basic consumer goods in accordance with demand. At the same time the production of new high-class goods will be increased in order to better meet the rising demand of the population for such goods. Consumer goods are to be offered in all three price categories.

We appeal to all working people in the trade and services enterprises to contribute by resourceful work so that a good supply of goods will be guaranteed all the time, shopping opportunities and customer services will be improved and quality and speed in the repair and services sectors will be further increased.

The people working in these fields face the task of contributing everywhere to increasing our national income by reducing the costs, avoiding losses and by carefully and rationally using the available material and financial funds.

The Council of Ministers will continue to advocate and support the development of crafts, agency business, private retail trade and restaurants. In contrast to capitalism our country offers the citizens, working in these fields, secure prospects; and we are convinced that they will always help to increasingly better meet the demands of the population through good and diligent work.

[AU091156] Esteemed deputies! The government considers it an important task to concentrate even more the management and planning activity of its organs on the performance increase of the national economy and on the increase of its efficiency. The state plans, which have to be implemented with great discipline and have to be universally fulfilled, are the fundamental law for the actions of all state organs.

Proceeding from the statement of Comrade Erich Honecker at the 10th party congress that the 5-year plan more and more proves to be the main instrument of economic management, efforts have to be directed at guaranteeing the planned proportional development of the national economy by improving the balance and fully taking into account the main interrelationships even in the 5-year plan document.

As the combines have become the fundamental units of the management of industry, construction and of the transportation and communications sectors, the main thing is to fully utilize their performance capacity on the basis of the central state management and planning by exhausting all possibilities and reserves of this new form of management. Exchange of experience and comparison of performance must contribute to making the results of the best combines and enterprises the common property of all. The knowledge that the exchange of experience is the most inexpensive investment is still true; through it we even make an essential contribution to more effectively using the advantages of the socialist production conditions in the interest of the entire people.

At the same time it is necessary to increasingly direct the assessment of performance and economic stimulation of the combines and enterprises toward the highest usefulness for the entire national economy. In close connection with this we are developing the socialist performance principle to such an extent that good achievements in production and higher results in research and development are materially stimulated.

Esteemed deputies! Comprehensive tasks result from the further purposeful deepening of socialist integration with the USSR and the other CEMA countries for our government. This organization has been and will remain a stable basis of our national economic development and serves the strengthening of socialism on a global basis and increases its attractiveness. We always feel obliged to do our utmost to see that the agreements, accords and treaties, signed with the USSR and the other socialist countries, are fulfilled conscientiously and to a high standard of quality. This is not only a question of stability of cooperation, developing to the mutual benefit; we regard it as a dictate of proletarian

internationalism. To always keep to it must be the concern of all combines, enterprises and institutions participating in socialist economic integration.

In the future we will continue to further develop economic and trade relations with the developing countries. We are linked with the young national states by the common anti-imperialist interest to strengthen their economic independence, contribute to their industrialization and work toward a democratic reshaping of international economic relations.

In trade with the capitalist countries we are guided by the principles of complete equality and mutual advantage. We are against all kinds of discrimination and restrictions and oppose all attempts to blame the GDR for the effects of the crisis-like and inflationary development in the capitalist countries.

Esteemed deputies, Our economic policy, aimed at a growth of production and national income also focuses on ensuring the people's material and cultural living standard under the complicated external economic conditions and on gradually enhancing it. Thus the proper prerequisites are being created for further development of the socialist way of life.

The Council of Ministers focuses its attention on implementing our social policy in keeping with the basic line adopted by the 10th party congress. In doing so our long-term apartment building program will be also purposefully continued in the 1981-85 period. Net monetary incomes and retail trade turnover will be increased in accordance with the plan and in agreement with the performance development. At the same time we naturally must always consider the fact that only those things can be distributed that have been produced earlier.

The government feels obliged by the principle, adopted by the party of the workers class, of ensuring supplies of essential commodities to the population at stable prices. This also applies to retaining low rents, rates for services and fares.

Our state has again mapped out considerable tasks for this purpose--also for the health and social services, public education and for other sectors. The population's real incomes will also rise in the 1981-85 period according to plan, as a result of increasing individual incomes and increasing means from the social funds.

The developed socialist society needs comprehensively educated personalities distinguished by solid professional and political knowledge and skills and by great readiness for achievements whose way of life is being increasingly determined by the norms of socialism.

The government will continue in the 1980's to regard the further perfecting of the uniform educational system and, in particular the communist education of the young generation, as a primary obligation. The Council of Ministers and its organs will see to it that the tasks related to public education, vocational training and university and technical school education, contained in the directive of the 10th SED Congress for the 1981-85 5-year plan, are fulfilled.

[AU091157] Our country's artists and cultural workers are saddled with a great responsibility for the intellectual shaping of the new man. The working people are expecting from them artistically mature works imbued with the optimistic concept of the world of the workers class, which contribute to developing an atmosphere of creative activity and joy of work as well as to well-being.

In the coming few years the government will also devote due attention to further developing conditions for a rich and multifaceted intellectual-cultural life, for high-level leisure time activities, particularly of youth, for effective recreation for working people and their families, and for developing physical culture and sports.

Health and social services occupy a special place in our policy aimed at man's well-being. With increasing services and the self-sacrificing work of their staff workers these services focus on preserving the health of the citizens, their social security and the happy flourishing of the families. The government will direct its efforts primarily at developing those sectors of medical practice that take constant care of the citizen and are most frequently resorted to by him. It will devote particular attention to the health protection of the working people, to care for mothers and their children, to caring for our labor veterans and to the well-being of physically and mentally handicapped people.

Great importance is being attached to the water economy and to environmental protection, particularly in the urban agglomerations and workers' centers. The means appropriated for this purpose must be employed with maximum efficiency. At the same time we appeal to all the citizens of our country, regardless of where they live or work, to actively help to preserve nature and to protect it for us, for our children and for coming generations.

It is a fundamental concern of the government to further develop Berlin, the GDR capital, as a political, economic and intellectual-cultural center. In doing so precedence attaches to apartment building. The scientific potential of the capital is being purposefully developed further. Thus, and on the basis of the growth of production and labor productivity, the contribution of Berlin's industry to the qualitative development of the material-technical base of the GDR's national economy, to supplying the population in keeping with its needs and to boosting exports must be increased.

The development of the capital will continue in the future to be contingent on active assistance from all the bezirke of our republic. Youth has an exemplary share in it within the framework of the "FDJ-Initiative Berlin," which deserves our highest recognition.

Esteemed deputies,

Faithful to the GDR constitution the government will responsibly fulfill its political, economic, social, cultural tasks and defense tasks assigned to it. On the basis of the SED program and in implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress, the Council of Ministers will do all it can to comprehensively consolidate and strengthen socialist state power. Any attempts at

weakening the state order will continue in the future to be repelled with certainty. We are undertaking all required measures to effectively counter all attacks and attempts at interference on the part of the class enemy. We are convinced that the members of our armed organs are honorably fulfilling the tasks assigned to them.

In order to continue to successfully fulfill the main task in the future it is necessary for all state organs to always heed the fundamental connection which exists between the accomplishment of high, demanding economic tasks and the planned development of the material-cultural standard of living and safeguarding all the required measures for the protection of the state, for strengthening the socialist community of states and for securing peace.

Solving the tasks connected with all this requires further perfecting state leadership. In doing so we shall consistently assert the proven principle of democratic centralism. As previously the task is topical of combining central state leadership and planning even more effectively with the creative initiatives of the working people and their collectives and of further enhancing the responsibility of the local state organs, combines and plants for fulfilling the centrally decreed tasks.

It is important, in close collaboration with the working people and their social organizations, primarily the trade unions and the youth league, to promote socialist competition to fulfill and overfulfill the plans. This requires fashioning leadership activities everywhere in the state and economy in such a manner that they help develop the working people's initiative and readiness for achievement. Performance comparisons and exchanges of experience must be carried out in all sectors and the experiences of the best must be generalized purposefully.

The Council of Ministers will continue to attach maximum importance to further developing and perfecting socialist democracy. It advocates even more including the working people in the management of the state and economy.

Our socialist democracy offers all citizens a vast scope of activity and enables every one of them to develop multifaceted democratic activities, particularly in working out and fulfilling our demanding plans. In our country the citizens' democratic collaboration in education and in other fields of cultural and social life, including meaningful leisure activities, is part and parcel of everyday life.

The Council of Ministers is showing great respect for the politically responsible activity of the people's representations and of their deputies. Their activities embody in an outstanding manner our socialist democracy. As a People's Chamber organ the Council of Ministers guides the uniform implementation of state policy, which is supported by the people's will. Its activity will continue in the future--I am certain of this--to receive valuable support in trustful cooperation with the People's Chamber committees.

[AU091158] The growing role of the local people's representations and of their councils is an essential characteristic of our socialist democracy. As members

of the uniform state power the local people's representations and their organs possess great potential, which can be used even more intensively to fulfill tasks incumbent upon the state. It is also the objective of the envisaged finalization of the law on the local people's representations and of their organs to increasingly better fulfill this requirement.

Proceeding from the need to safeguard the uniform activity of all state organs, the Council of Ministers will pay particular attention to creating additional prerequisites for effective cooperation between the central and local state organs. This applies particularly to the coordinated development of branches and territories as well as to even more productive use of the opportunities of territorial rationalization. It is above all important to thus fashion cooperation between the local state organs and the combines and enterprises that a high national economic efficiency increase is promoted and that further sources for the planned development of the working people's work and living conditions are developed.

In order to perfect leadership and planning the Council of Ministers will continue the proven road of generalizing, on the basis of accountability reports of the competent leaders, the best experiences in the work of central and local state organs.

It is and remains the supreme principle that the state organ's activity must be aimed at the people's well-being. The state apparatus is made for the people. We shall consistently continue to endorse this principle in the future.

We regard rationalizing management and administrative work as a constant creative process that must serve the objective of improving work and of making it more effective in order to accomplish the growing tasks without increasing the number of personnel. What is involved here is not only the quantitative relationship between input and utility, but, first and foremost, qualitative problems, such as further developing democratic centralism and consolidating the relationship of trust between the citizens and their state. The working people must feel that their responsible participation in solving tasks is being highly appreciated and that their concerns, which they are trustfully presenting to the state organs, are being taken seriously.

In implementing the law adopted by the People's Chamber, the Council of Ministers sets great value by the fact that the citizens' applications are being carefully handled by all state organs. Each state leader is dutybound to conscientiously examine remarks and suggestions--to follow them up whenever possible and to seek constructive solutions. Disparaging treatment or even disregard of citizens' applications is incompatible with the principles of our policy.

The Council of Ministers advocates that the working people's understanding and their initiatives for solving social and personal problems should be promoted by purposeful and meaningful state work among the public. The better the citizens are acquainted with the policy of the party and government and with communal affairs the more we can expect that every one of them will make a corresponding contribution to solving tasks.

The Council of Ministers will consistently assert its responsibility to further develop the socialist legal system and implement socialist legality. It proceeds from the fact that law and order are greatly important for the life and work of our citizens. They help the working peoples' efforts to achieve a greater national economic performance increase, to enhance labor efficiency and to carefully husband material and financial means.

Our country's citizens feel that safety and security are decisively influenced by how their constitutional rights are asserted and by how they themselves fulfill their duties to society. Our law helps to fashion socialist relations among men. But our law also protects the gains of the working people from the attacks of the class enemy.

The Council of Ministers is in favor of struggling even more effectively to prevent violations of the law and to safeguard order, discipline and security everywhere. It will further all the initiatives undertaken in this respect by the working people and their collectives. Even in the future we shall not permit the peaceful life and creative work of the working people being disturbed or threatened by individual irresponsible elements. Violations of the law will be always answered in an appropriate manner.

Our state possesses legal prescriptions, which are proving their worth in life. In order to comply with the continuing development, the Council of Ministers, on the basis of a legislative plan for the period until 1985, will ensure the further development of our socialist law.

Esteemed deputies, The work of parliament--and this I would like to underscore in conclusion--will be fully oriented toward implementing the guiding decisions of the 10th SED Congress in all fields of social life. In doing so we simultaneously comply with the tasks set forth in the election appeal of the National Front National Council. All the nominated members of government are aware of the great responsibility that they are assuming for both the activity of the Council of Ministers as a collectively functioning organ and for the guidance of the scope of activities assigned to them.

Therefore, I beg you, esteemed deputies, to approve the government declaration and to elect the Council of Ministers I have proposed. At the same time I would also like to request that you support the government in implementing the tasks assigned to it.

Verner on Foreign Policy

AL021822 East Berlin SED/ES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Jun 81 pp 6,7

[Speech by Deputy Paul Verner for the SED parliamentary faction at the GDR People's Chamber session on 26 June 1981]

[Text] Vnr: esteemed deputies:

The SED Parliamentary faction fully supports the government declaration made by Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

The declaration agrees with the will of the citizens of our socialist fatherland, who at the people's elections on 14 June expressed their confidence in the National Front candidates with an overwhelming majority. This decision was a declaration of the voters, made a million times, for the further comprehensive strengthening of the worker-peasant power, for implementing the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, for the inviolable friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries, and a manifestation for preserving and securing peace.

The content and aims of the governmental declaration are identical with the policy for the benefit of the people adopted by the 10th SED Congress, a policy which is also being supported and implemented by all the social forces united in the GDR National Front.

Esteemed deputies,

The 40th anniversary of the criminal attack by predatory German imperialism on the Soviet Union, the home of peace and human progress, was a few days ago. It will never be forgotten under what sacrifices the Soviet people liberated their own homeland and brought freedom to the European peoples, also including our people. The victory of the glorious Soviet Army over barbarous Hitlerite fascism has opened the road for us and other peoples to a fundamental turn in history.

The principles of our state's foreign policy expounded in the government declaration make it abundantly clear how fortunate our people and the peoples of the world can count themselves to be that the socialist GDR exists on German soil as a state of peace. Imperialism, fascism and militarism have been eradicated in our state. The GDR came into being with the pledge never to permit another war to emanate from German soil. The GDR, in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, at all times and in every situation has lived up to this pledge by its constructive and consistent peace policy. And this, esteemed deputies, will continue to be the case.

We are acting on the basis of the knowledge that preserving and securing peace occupies the foremost position in our struggle.

The confrontation course of the aggressive imperialist quarters and the stepped up armament of NATO, particularly in the United States and the FRG, have undeniably created a dangerous situation. By building nuclear medium-range missiles and deploying them in West Europe, particularly in the FRG, these forces are striving for military superiority. Instead of agreeing to negotiations about a limitation of arms and disarmament without preconditions, and to agreements on the basis of equality and equal security as proposed by the Soviet Union, the imperialists are fanning the arms race and are switching to the use of force. It is quite understandable that the increasingly tense situation is causing concern among all realistically minded people.

Full Approval of the USSR Appeal

The comprehensive peace program announced at the 26th CPSU Congress, which has been fully backed by the 10th SED Congress, shows the people the road to preserving and securing peace. And even more so, the passionate appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet "to the parliaments and peoples of the world," proclaimed by our friend Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, constitutes a warning, a moving warning to the consciousness of the people. He appeals to them to do all they can to prevent the arms race and the threatening danger of a nuclear arms conflict, and to reliably secure peace; because never before has peace been so threatened by the aggressive imperialist quarters as it is now. This is why this appeal is eliciting full support among our people. Together with all peace forces throughout the world, our country's citizens will make their active contribution to implementing these aims.

The GDR's foreign policy, explained in the government declaration, is undestroyably founded on the inviolable fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and on the firm incorporation of our worker-peasant state in the community of socialist states. The 26th CPSU Congress and the 10th SED Congress have opened up new spheres of activity for the increasing interlacing of our national economies, and for a more and more effective cooperation. Jointly, we endorse the strengthening of international security, halting the arms race and disarmament. At the same time, we are doing all that is necessary to defend the socialist fatherland and our community.

It has always been an obvious duty of our socialist GDR to practice anti-imperialist solidarity by deeds with all the peoples struggling for their national and social liberation. A fruitful cooperation has developed with the liberated states of Africa, Asia and Latin America, with which we are linked by the anti-imperialist struggle for peace, freedom and social progress.

[AU021925] Esteemed deputies,

The immutable principles of our foreign policy also include the consistent endeavor to promote relations of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. This means cooperation in the interest of peace and for mutual benefit. An impressive testimony of this was the state visit to Japan by our friend Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, which was wholly marked by the policy of peaceful coexistence. We fully and entirely share the view of leading personalities that the development of good relations between Japan and the GDR is a stabilizing factor in the world.

The task of permanently safeguarding peace also determines our relations with the FRG. At the 10th SED Congress we explained our position precisely and unmistakably. Only that which contributes to peace is of benefit to people in the two German states and to all the people of our continent. The progress achieved in relations between the two German states--and as is known, this is not inconsiderable--was made at a time when detente was advancing and there was well-founded hope that it would be possible to augment political detente with steps toward military detente, that is to say through arms limitation and disarmament.

This positive development was interrupted by the course of confrontation and stepped-up armament embarked upon by the aggressive imperialist circles. The deterioration in the overall international situation is calculated to adversely affect relations between the two German states; all the more so as--and leading politicians in Bonn even boast about this--the FRG is the vanguard and plays the role of a driving force in NATO's arms build-up policy. When prominent people in the FRG say, as they did recently, that the cooler the air is world-wide, the more difficult things become for the two German states in their mutual relations, we do not contradict them. Therefore, everyone in the FRG who is interested in the further normalization of relations with the GDR ought to actively work for a warming of the international atmosphere. Today this means above all working decisively and committedly for arms limitation and disarmament, because good neighborliness cannot flourish in the shadow of Pershing II missiles.

What Is Important in Relations With the FRG

Leading FRG representatives have repeatedly stressed that they, too, want to intercede to ensure that a war is never again started from German soil. But it is not enough merely to state this. As comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of our party Central Committee, said at the 11th FDJ Parliament, it is necessary to prevent the FRG from becoming a launching pad for new U.S. missiles or becoming a powderkeg. This is what asserting responsibility for peace and the future of mankind means today, a responsibility which nobody can avoid.

In the meantime, many people in the FRG itself have arrived at the realization that now it is necessary to transform the will for peace into action for peace, and to oppose the main threat to peace in Europe--that is the planned deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles. Those social democrats, communists, trade unionists, Christians and liberals in the FRG who, in democratic actions, are fighting against the arms race fanned by NATO are responsibly taking into consideration the national interests of the FRG population and at the same time are serving the cause of peace on our continent.

Just as with respect to relations with other capitalist states, we also see various chances for developing relations with the FRG, chances which could be utilised in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. What is involved, however, is the peaceful existence of states with different social systems. Aspirations to military superiority, a policy of strength and confrontation are incompatible with this.

We advocate respecting the sovereignty of states, their equality and equal rights, noninterference in their internal affairs and mutually beneficial relations. These fundamental norms of international life provide the conditions for the future expansion of relations between the GDR and FRG. It is more than evident that this also includes full respect for GDR citizenship.

The GDR has often enough evinced its constructive attitude when it was important to advance matters at complicated stages. But just as certain is our determination to safeguard the legitimate rights of our socialist worker-peasant state and its citizens, as well as to rebuff all those confronting us with stale revanchist phrases and greater German arrogance instead of commonsense and a sense of reality. Our position is clear: We are for a secure peace and for equal cooperation.

Socialism Implies Social Security

As a member of the socialist community of states, the GDR proves to be a reliable mainstay of peace at Europe's heart. As a result of this, it enjoys respect and recognition throughout the world. It is with good reason that GDR citizens are proud of this. They know that all this ultimately is based on the solid and stable development of our country which they are bringing about with their great daily achievements for fashioning the developed socialist society.

Socialism and peace safeguard social security, socialism and peace determine the thoughts and actions of the GDR people.

Esteemed deputies,

The government statement agrees with the interests of all GDR working people when it notes that the Council of Ministers will consistently continue the course of the main task, the unity of economic and social policy, adopted at the 10th party congress. All of us know very well that any further progress in fashioning the developed socialist society in the GDR is decisively determined by economic events. This is why the SED places the economy at the center of social policy.

In order to ensure the material and cultural standard of living and to develop it further, it is necessary, on the basis of a high development speed of socialist production, to increase effectiveness and to accelerate scientific-technical progress and the growth of labor productivity. This policy, as was shown by the good performances in the socialist competition, has the full support of the GDR working people. It benefits the individual as well as society as a whole.

[AU020951] In 10 points, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, expounded the economic strategy of our party at the 10th congress. Thus far-reaching tasks were mapped out for the development of our national economy in the 1980's. Economic growth through socialist intensification is increasingly becoming a determinant characteristic of our planned economy. This is why we are concentrating on a comprehensive rationalization and on modern techniques, on a higher degree of refinement of raw materials and fuels, on the extensive utilization of microelectronics and on a faster pace in introducing robot technology.

The decisions of the 10th party congress have elicited a broad response among the working people and have set off a great initiative for their implementation. Under the slogan "high performance growth through rising labor productivity, effectivity and quality--everything for the benefit of the people and for peace," the collectives are waging the struggle to comprehensively fulfill the 1981 National Economic Plan and to exceed it to the extent of three daily outputs in terms of distributable final products for supplies to the population, for the socialist rationalization of the national economy and for exports. It is worthwhile to particularly stress the fact that this additional output should be in substance obtained from saved raw materials, power sources and materials.

As it was possible to report at the second session of the SED Central Committee, 1 week ago today the plan lead in industrial commodity production rose to some M2.3 billion in the sectors of the industrial ministries by mid-June. This is tantamount to 1.7 daily outputs. We thank the working people from this place for this achievement.

It was with pleasure and pride in our young generation that our party received the decision of the Ninth FDJ Parliament "FDJ Assignment 10th Party Congress." We are firmly convinced that the youth will honorably fulfill the assumed obligation of achieving great performances. This is its contribution to further enhancing the power and prestige of the GDR.

Performance of the Best a Yardstick For All

Our party attaches great importance to a constant comparison of performances. The objective of this comparison is to single out the best as paragons and to learn from them in order to more rapidly advance everyone as a result. This leads to fine results under our socialist production conditions where all are comradely cooperating for one and the same end.

As the chairman of the Council of Ministers said, the exchange of experiences has always proved to be the cheapest investment, and this is so at our time of higher levels of organizing the management of the economy by combines. It is on the development in the 157 combines which belong to basic economic units of management and planning in industry, transport and communications that decisively depends the growth of production, productivity and effectiveness in our national economy. It will be a primary task of the Council of Ministers and the ministries to bring all combines, with their economic activities, up to the level of the most advanced ones.

We are paying particular attention to developing the building industry. Apartment building is and remains--without any cuts--the gist of our social programs. The building industry also has great tasks related to further strengthening the material-technical base of the national economy. In doing so, it is important to achieve maximum efficiency and quality in all building activities--while strictly observing the economic and social targets--and to reduce building times and construction expenditures.

Esteemed deputies,

It is with good reason that the government declaration sets forth the task of enhancing the national economic efforts in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry by means of a higher effectiveness of labor.

The 10th party congress decided that the most important task of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry is safeguarding secure supplies of foodstuffs to the population and more raw materials to industry. It is important under the changed reproduction conditions to more extensively use the findings of science and technology to boost soil fertility and to more comprehensively tap reserves in agricultural production. The intensification of production

carried out with essentially unchanged funds. The enterprises' own plant production must be increased and the economical use of fodder must be improved. Fodder from the enterprise's own production is a primary national economic task.

Work must focus on enhancing performance and responsibility in each LPG and state farm, on applying the experiences of the best and on overcoming differences in the results.

New possibilities for boosting production must be developed by deepening all forms of cooperation within agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry, and by ensuring smooth collaboration between industry and agriculture at a high scientific-technical level.

Growing importance also attaches to the production of agricultural produce in the private economies of the cooperative farmers and agricultural workers, members of the association of small plot gardeners, settlers and small animal holders as well as of other small-scale producers for their own needs, and beyond these for supplies to the population.

[AU022034] Esteemed deputies,

An important source for developing the economic strength of the socialist countries rests in deepening socialist economic integration with the USSR and the other fraternal countries.

The program for specialization and cooperation between the GDR and the USSR until 1990, signed on the 30th anniversary of the GDR, even now to a considerable extent fashions the work of our combines and enterprises. The immediate cooperation in solving important tasks in research, technology and production should be aimed at boosting the effectiveness and at a dynamic growth of the national economies in keeping with the targets adopted by the party congresses.

In doing so we regard the strict bilateral fulfillment of the obligations resulting from this cooperation as a primary task, and see it as a matter of proletarian internationalism.

Esteemed deputies,

The directive of the 10th SED Congress for developing the national economy in the years 1981-85, submitted to the populace for public discussion, has met with a wide response and approval. Thousands of workers, cooperative peasants, members of the intelligentsia and other working people as well as labor veterans have submitted an abundance of proposals thus far. Their main content are further pledges and creative initiatives of the working people in the socialist competition to ensure a high performance increase in accordance with the economic strategy adopted by the 10th SED Congress. These also include the many ideas concerning the national front-led drive "beautify our towns and villages--join in." All this is an expression of socialist democracy. We are convinced that the public discussion will continue to produce fine results for the people's benefit.

To Use the Citizens' Ideas and Proposals

The experiences which we have amassed in the struggle for fulfilling the 1981 National Economic Plan, as well as during the current discussion about the directive for the 1981-85 5-Year Plan, make it evident that we possess good prerequisites for achieving the targets mapped out by the 10th party congress. This applies to education and culture as well as to the health service, physical culture and sports. Implementing the decisions of the 10th party congress will produce new successes in these fields, too. This will be achieved all the better the more strongly we bring to bear the decisive power which is inherent in socialism and is the source of its strength; that is, the great creative potential of the workers class, the cooperative peasants, members of the intelligentsia and of all other working people. It is to this power and to the wise policy of our party, as well as to the activity of all forces united in the National Front, that the successful balance sheet of our past few years is due--and they will also cope with the forthcoming tasks, we are sure of this.

All this requires that all leaders and staffworkers of the state organs and the economy always care for the democratic cooperation of the citizens, and that they also utilize the latter's ideas, proposals and critical remarks. We regard it as an important task of all deputies to the People's Chamber to see to it that all this is heeded everywhere and nowhere ignored, a task to which we also should apply ourselves in this election term.

Esteemed deputies,

In the government declaration, the further comprehensive strengthening of our socialist state is described as a decisive prerequisite for implementing the domestic and foreign policy adopted by the 10th party congress. It is part and parcel of the general law-governed features of the socialist revolution that the workers class, under SED leadership, can only discharge its historic mission if, in a broad alliance with the class of the cooperative farmers and the other working strata, it constantly consolidates the socialist state power and if it knows how to protect and defend it, together with the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact.

The affairs of the state are more and more becoming a concern of the people in our republic. It is a characteristic feature of socialist democracy that citizens of the most varied professions, people with different concepts of the world, young and old, in increasing numbers are committing themselves to solving social tasks, that they actively support the state power organs and that they are deliberately endorsing the observance of the laws of the worker-peasant power as well as the maintenance of security and order.

It is the task of everyone to promote this political-social progress as much as they can. Socialist democracy is all the more viable the more strongly the state power and its policy are anchored among the people, and the more it is regarded by citizens as their most legitimate concern. This is the solid foundation for the further development of our state and legal order.

Esteemed deputies,

Our socialist state has achieved great things. The most successful 5-year period in the history of our worker-peasant state is behind us. Proof of this are the successes in the planned dynamic development of the national economy as well as in all the other social sectors of our life, and in consistently implementing the greatest ever social program in our people's history. Proof of this is the great authority which our state has acquired as a state of peace and friendship among peoples in international life. Thanks to the industriousness of the working people, it was possible to enter a fine balance sheet in the ledger of the republic. Debits and credits have developed well.

Esteemed deputies, let us get busy as the stewards of our people and let us cope with the tasks mapped out in the government statement.

Finance Minister Discusses Budget

AU011931 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Jun 81 p 10

[Minister of Finance Ernest Hoefner's address at the second meeting of the People's Chamber on 26 June in Berlin]

[Text] Esteemed deputies. The SED Central Committee general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, has underlined in the Central Committee report to the 10th SED Congress that the economy is the center of social policy. In this sector the decisions on further progress in shaping developed socialism are made. The fact that in 1980 the biggest gain was achieved in the overall performance of the national economy to date is therefore of particular importance. At the same time it is excellent testimony to the working people's effort to make our socialist society flourish, its future secure and prosperous, to make it their very own concern.

The great work of our people for a high economic performance increase is impressively reflected in the budget accounting for 1980, which has been submitted to you, esteemed deputies, by the GDR Government. On the basis of the law adopted by the GDR People's Chamber, budget revenue totaled M160.7 billion in 1980. Thus plan fulfillment is 103.4 percent. On this basis expenditures ran to M160.3 billion. The surplus of revenue over expenditure, stipulated in the 1980 budget law, was exceeded by M304 million. This is an expression of the improvement of the relation of expenditure to result.

The great efforts of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the members of the intelligentsia and all working people of the GDR have produced good results in socialist competition for preparing the 10th SED congress, which was organized by the trade unions. The consistent implementation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy under the leadership of the party of the workers class has again stood its test. The further strengthening of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and the constant deepening of socialist economic integration has proved a decisive source of strength.

As a result of the creative work the contribution of the qualitative factors of economic growth toward overfulfillment of the performance goals has increased. For instance, labor productivity in industry rose by 5.1 percent and prime costs were reduced beyond plan targets. In the past year the produced national income increased by 4.2 percent. This increasing productivity and effectiveness in the overall national economy formed the solid basis for fulfilling and overfulfilling the budget and for the further stable development of the finances of our worker-peasant state.

The combines and enterprises of industry, building industry, agriculture and foodstuff industry, transportation and communications as well as trade produced almost 75 percent of the overall budget revenue. With 51 percent, the combines of the state enterprises have a decisive share in that. As the workers class centers of strength and as fundamental economic units of material production they form the decisive basis for constantly growing revenue in the budget.

It is an important advantage of our social order and our socialist planned economy that since the founding of our GDR the budget has developed in a stable manner. In view of the crises and the inflationary development in nearly all capitalist countries our budgeting is a convincing example of the superiority of real socialism on German soil. One only needs to look at the 1981 budget adopted by the FRG Bundestag on 5 June to realize the contrasts. There, the most essential characteristic is further increasing expenditures for weapons to about DM42 billion. The deficit increased by about another DM34 billion to an overall sum of DM470 billion. What the bourgeois newspaper DIE WELT wrote in this connection is characteristic: "In order to stop the increasingly dangerous indebtedness of the state, all factions of the Bundestag are of the opinion that changes in the social system cannot be avoided. The entire Bundestag was unanimous in its opinion: Improving state finances will demand painful sacrifices on the part of citizens. There must not be any taboos for the red pencil." That is a policy which is undoubtedly directed against the interests of the working people. We, however, consistently continue the policy aimed at the well-being of the people and at the social security of every citizen in our GDR. In our country the number of hospital beds is not reduced. No apartments are empty because rents are exorbitant. In our country youth's justified wishes for developing public health and for more vacancies for apprentices do not remain unfulfilled. Social security and safety are social reality for the citizens of our country, a reality to which they are politically committed--the election result of 14 June has proved that convincingly--and for which they do their best with new accomplishments in their everyday work.

Great Means for Intensification

Esteemed deputies. Science and technology more and more prove to be the main factors of intensification and the most important motive force of increasing productivity and effectiveness.

On financing the tasks of the plan of science and technology and other research achievements a total of M7.8 billion was expended, M2.6 billion of it from the budget.

With these means many modern technologies and procedures as well as new products have been introduced. This resulted in further progress in intensifying production as the main path of economic growth for increasing the effectiveness and performance capacity of the national economy.

[AU011932] The material technological basis of our national economy has been further improved, strengthened and modernized. For this purpose more than M50 billion was expended from the budget, from combine and enterprise funds and by loans in 1980.

In implementing the economic strategy of the 1980's, adopted at the 10th SED Congress, it is one of today's most important tasks to exhaust the great potential that science and technology offers. Here is the main reserve for performance growth and for the efficiency of our national economy. This results in qualitatively new demands on using the means of science and technology and investments. The republic needs high economic yield achievements. Science and technology must guarantee the necessary lead in plan fulfillment for future intensively enlarged reproduction. Forces are to be concentrated on new products and procedures, from which deep economic effects flow. Therefore, the social and economic use must be the main criteria in setting scientific tasks.

Utmost Economy Is of Priority Importance

The same measure applies to the future use of investments. Precedence is given to technological progress that is linked to investments and that guarantees the utmost economy and high productivity and effectiveness for the future. The main thing is to gain a considerably bigger increase in performance capacity and efficiency from every mark that has been expended.

From this it follows that it is more important to judge everything by the yardstick of the GDR mark.

The economic strategy for the 1980's, developed by the 10th SED Congress aims at determinedly increasing the effectiveness of labor. An ever better relation between expenditure and result must be achieved. This in particular demands measures for reducing production's consumption. Production must rise more rapidly than the expenditure of machine and human labor.

Management activity must give even higher priority to the struggle to decisively decrease production's consumption and costs. The Council of Ministers stresses this task because in the years to come an unprecedented increase in performance will have to be guaranteed with a principally unchanged or only insignificantly increasing volume of energy resources, raw materials and materials.

Therefore, the rate of decreasing production's consumption and costs must be decisively increased. An important economic untapped potential lies in overcoming still existing, unjustified differences in performance. This demands from all combines and enterprises that they purposefully reduce production costs according to the example of such successful combines as the Carl Zeiss Jena VEB and the Karl-Marx-Stadt "Fritz Heckert" Werkzeugmaschinenkombinat VEB. Everywhere a consistent struggle to prevent losses must be waged. Exceeding

the planned production costs, which reduces national income, must not be allowed. Therefore, exact accounting and control must be further increased.

An important task is to further improve the finance cost planning in accordance with the decisions of the 10th SED Congress in order to create even better prerequisites for analyzing and controlling the factors determining effectiveness.

Everywhere in the economy, order and discipline must be consistently guaranteed. Norms, normative provisions, quotas and limits must be strictly kept and must remain within the set limits. This above all applies to the consumption of energy, fuels, raw materials and materials.

The working people of our country responded to the more unfavorable foreign economic conditions with high increases in output, increasing labor productivity and with higher efficiency of social labor. This includes the manifold initiatives of the members of our socialist youth association.

Thus the bases of social security and social progress were reliably guaranteed and further expanded.

The budget accounting, which has been submitted to you, states that everything that has been stipulated in the plan for 1980 to improve the working and living conditions of the working people has been fulfilled. All legal claims of the working people have been implemented.

In 1980 an overall amount of M52.7 billion was used as social funds from state means for improving the material and intellectual-cultural living conditions of the people. That is an increase of M3.5 billion compared to 1979. An additional M3.4 billion was used to fulfill the cultural and social needs of the working people in accordance with the development of expenditure from the cultural and social funds of the combines and enterprises.

Housing Construction Is and Will Remain the Main Point

Within the framework of the state's social expenditure the housing program remains the main point of the sociopolitical program, because of its enormous importance for the well-being of the people. On the construction and the modernization of apartments, the maintenance and management of existing apartments and the guarantee of low rents, about M7 billion were spent from the social funds in the past year. Compared to the year before, the state's expenditure in this sector has increased by M500 million. In addition to that M7.9 billion of loans and private resources were spent on the housing program.

The expenditure on our socialist education is an important investment directed to the future, and above all for the young generation.

In our republic medical and social care for citizens in maintaining, promoting and restoring health, their performance capacity and joy of living is of an internationally recognized high level. In this sector expenses from the budget have increased, too. In 1980 the expenditure was about M9.5 billion.

[AU011933] This matter-of-fact, numerical statement is based on significant social achievements. They illustrate what real socialism can achieve for the welfare of its citizens. Allow me, esteemed deputies, to illustrate this by some facts:

For any infant cared for in an all-day nursery, our state expends M256 per month. The contribution of the parents has for years been M27.5 at most. For the good and loving care for the children in a kindergarten, the monthly expenditure of the state is M88 per child and per month, the parents do not pay more than M7. For every pupil who eats school meals, the state grants an allowance of M262 per year.

Another example: In order to guarantee stable consumer prices for basic consumer goods and fees for services to the population in 1989--per citizen--about M990 was expended within the framework of the social funds from state means.

High Achievements in the Social Field

Particular attention must be paid to the high expenditure on social insurance shown in the budget accounting. They are necessary in order to guarantee the claims of the working people stipulated by law. On the basis of the increase of the old-age pensions, implemented in 1979, the volume of expenditures on old-age pensions increased to M15.8 billion in 1980. This means an increase by M1.4 billion.

The expenses of our socialist state on thoughtful care for our labor veterans in old-age and nursing homes, for household upkeep, inexpensive lunches and other social benefits have also increased further.

To further shape a manifold intellectual-cultural life, for an efficient use of leisure time and for recreation of the working people, as well as for the further development of physical culture and sports in 1980, social funds from state means amounting about M2.2 billion were used.

The Council of Ministers stresses that in the budget of the state institutions of education, health and social affairs, as well as of culture, precise measuring and accounting are indispensable so that the funds, gained by the diligence of the working people, will be expended with great use to the benefit of the citizens.

The GDR is pursuing a clear peace concept. In this spirit everything was done for the protection of the socialist society and maintaining peace. The necessary means for national defense were made available according to plan, amounting to M9.4 billion. Our republic will continue to link constructive steps to secure peace with that which seems necessary for the military defense of our socialist fatherland in view of the confrontational course and the intensified arms race of NATO.

The Council of Ministers submits to you the budget accounting for 1980 after thorough examination of the propriety of the financial annual balances in the nationalized combines and enterprises, in all state and management organs and in the money and loan institutes. On behalf of the Council of Ministers, I ask you to approve this budget accounting.

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

MSZMP DELEGATION--At the invitation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance (Ba'th) Party, an MSZMP party worker delegation led by Miklos Andriko, first secretary of the MSZMP's Szolnok county committee, visited the Syrian Arab Republic from 28 June to 2 July. The delegation, which studied the Ba'th Party's party organizational and mass political activity, was received by Dr (Wahib Tannus), member of the Ba'th Party regional leadership. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Jul 81 p 5 AU]

CPSU DELEGATION--At the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, a Soviet party worker delegation led by Nikolay Perun, deputy head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee, visited Hungary from 29 June to 4 July. The delegation studied experiences of cadre work at Hungarian party organs and organizations at various levels. The delegation was received by Mihaly Krom, MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. [Text] [A111830 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Jul 81 p 4 AU]

CSO: 2500/310

COMMON POSITION ON INTRA-PARTY PROBLEMS URGED

Return to Party Authority

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polien No 4, Apr 81 pp 15-16

["Text" of speech by Jerzy Trzesniewski, secretary PZPR Factory Committee, "Warszawa" Foundry to representatives of Warsaw University and "Warszawa" Foundry party organisations on 27 February 1981]

[Text] The need to work out a common position on the crucial problems of intra-party life and the desire to lend assistance to the Warsaw Congress Commission--this was the primary motivation for the meeting of the representatives of two party organisations: that of Warsaw University and that of the "Warszawa" Foundry. The meeting took place on 27 February, 1981 in the university's Auditorium Maximum and included several dozen people. Comrade Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, participated in the meeting.

We are publishing the addresses given by A. Trzesniewski, secretary of the "Warszawa" Foundry Factory Committee and by Z. Kielminski, secretary of the UW [Warsaw University] University Committee, both of which generated discussion. They point out the major problems treated during the meeting and the converging views of both party circles in matters of importance to all party members.

The Party Is in the Midst of the Working People

We are treating our meeting today of the scholarly milieu and the macroindustrial workers' class as one form of cooperation within the framework of the democratization of intra-party life, of party revitalization, the confrontation of its rank-and-file and cohesiveness of views and directions for a way out of the impasse. We are treating our meeting as a broad plane of pre-Congress discussion in the hopes that the Ninth Congress will take up all of the issues by which the party lives and through which it comes up against the expectations of its members.

We must be aware of the fact that the party is working during a period of lack of trust in the party and of the decline in its authority on the part of many rank-and-file members and among a large portion of society. The events of recent months have become a severe test and an important experience for the party.

The party has more than once passed difficult tests during the last 35-year period. Never in the past, however, did it succeed in fully carrying out sweeping reforms in the makeup of party life following any of the turns that it took. Our historical sense tells us that we must not throw away our present opportunity. Our party organization has emerged from the events of last August in a battered condition. Party active and rank-and-file members of the party have become the object of criticism for the mistakes and distortions made by the former directorate of the party. A trend for squaring up accounts has dominated the meeting of party groups and of the POP (Basic party organization). It is demanded that those responsible for the crisis be punished, that the Leninist norms of life and principles of party functioning be restored and that the guarantees preventing the repetition of similar crises in the future be secured.

As a result of this severe trial, many comrades, expressing a lack of confidence in the leadership and in echelons, have ceased to participate actively in the party. During the post-August period, 280 comrades left our party organization, primarily party members who had been accepted into the party in the past several years. This fact proves that the party's strength does not lie in the unthinking masses, but in the cohesiveness of its highly politically conscious and morally upright members.

Now we have begun to undertake many tasks and initiatives which were often viewed by party members critically and with great reserve. We were lacking the facts and the information on which to build. We were not in need of the instructions and guidelines so universally criticized, but of basic information on intra-party affairs, on subjects of the work of the upper echelons and on problems occurring in many circles. The need on the part of our members to gain access to current information via the party channel continues to be great. We must aim at improving our methods of transmitting and obtaining information in all available ways, our major concerns being its accuracy and rapid circulation. We continue to experience an insufficiency of information and the lack of strong arguments and answers to a number of suggestions and demands. Due to this, the lack of confidence in the actions of the authorities on the part of party members and active continues. The broad current of information transmitted in the bulletins of the NSZZ [Independent, Self-governing Trade Union] "Solidarity" fills this gap.

The hopes of millions of people rest in this union, the short life of which has been born of the just protest of the working class. The majority of party members of our factory organization also joined "Solidarity." The cooperation of the PZPR Factory Committee with the Presidium of the NSZZ "Solidarity" Plant Commission is turning out well. For our part, we have pledged our assistance and cooperation on a partnership basis to solve all of the problems that relate to work crews and the plant. We have also made it clear that we will never support statements and strike actions which are politically founded. We are well aware that the new trade union movement is being used by forces which are at odds with

our system, operating under the guise of spokesmen and advisers. We know that they wish to use the healthy "Solidarity" movement against the party in order to transform this union into an opposition party. We must speak of these things openly and without mincing words, waging a decisive battle against the pseudo-defenders of workers under the signs of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and KRN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] which have wanted to be carried along by the winds of history many times. We must strike down the arguments of our political opponents in this uncompromising battle.

Are there no forces in our party, however, which purposely hamper the process of renewal? In the past half-year, have we sufficiently purged our ranks of those people who should not be among us? The final settling of accounts with each person deserving of this, no matter who it is, cannot bring discredit to the party. This is one of the conditions of the credibility of the renewal process.

Renewal in the party must take place foremost on the plans of mutually veracious undertakings and on the basis of totally reliable and sincere information concerning the problems which have been undertaken and resolved by all party organizations and upper echelons. This is one of the basic conditions for restoring socialist democracy and for upholding democratic centralism.

The consequence of this has been that criticism within the party has achieved its rightful place and that the confrontation of views and the working out of joint constructive positions have occurred. The essence of the party is the working people, not the party echelons, which are selected by member masses and fulfill their role of serving these masses. When every party member and all echelons become aware of this, then we will have the guarantee that our every task is necessary and meets the expectations of the whole party.

What we need today is to restore the party's authority, to rebuild confidence in its leadership, to aim at coordinating the tasks of all party elements and to bring the echelons closer to member masses. Party consolidation should take place on many planes, both vertically and horizontally. Inculcating democracy, broadly understood and applied, is an extremely important matter. We must aim at utilizing the enormous potential inherent in our member masses and the experience of our functioning activists.

We do not want to become bogged down in the problems which plague the whole party; we are seeking dialogue and cooperation with other organizations which treat the party's future with the utmost seriousness and, at the same time, are not guided by private interests. We expected the upper echelons to create for us a common platform for the exchange of views and for cooperation. Recent actions indicate that the Warsaw echelon has initiated such meetings. We are convinced that they will develop to become a permanent vehicle for the exchange of views and positions.

On the basis of a resolution of the Seventh KC [Central Committee] Plenum, in December 1980 we appointed a congress commission made up of representatives of all of the socio-vocational circles of our foundry. Likewise in all POP, departmental congress teams have been named. A result of the work of the commission thus far has been the working out of over 70 suggestions and demands which have been forwarded to the Central Congress Commission, the Warsaw Committee and the District Committee. I would like to briefly characterize some of these points.

We propose a departure from the definition of the directorial role of the party, substituting for this the leadership role of the party. We should return to the Leninist idea of the party. According to this idea, the party as the political organization of the working class, the advance-guard to the working people, serves their interest and derives its power from this mission. It is the idea of the party whose goals, directions and forms of operating are determined by the party masses, whose programs and operational guidelines are decided and worked out collectively in lawmaking bodies. The executive apparatus is authorized to operate by the masses, with their approval and under their control.

The leadership role of the party issues from its formulation of society's needs; its service of society's needs gives it the right to supervise the administration. The function of the party in society, thus understood, actualizes the slogan: the party leads, the government governs. However, the issue lies not only with a change in definitions. Until this time, the party assumed responsibility for all decisions of a statewide magnitude and, as a result of excessive interference in detailed or even petty matters, for many other decisions as well. For this reason, in the opinion of thousands of people, in their statements, and among us in the "Warszawa" Foundry as well there is the view that the party is basically responsible for all consequences of decisions having social dimensions, for successes and defeats, for progress and mistakes. The problem strikes at the essence of the party apparatus and the premises are inherent in the very structure, personnel makeup and the degree of importance of the operational apparatus.

For historico-political reasons, the model of the working party has developed on the basis of internal conditions and borrowed models. With time, the supremacy of the apparatus became defined and grew, as did the supremacy of appointed officials, over the selecting bodies. Ultimately the principle of making a real choice on the part of these bodies was violated. The example may be given of the PZPR voivodship committees in their present tenure. These committees are composed primarily of workers of the apparatus, i.e., of the party and state administration. This supports the thesis of the apparatus' slipping out of the control of member masses, whom they are to serve. Those controlled have become the controlling.

In conjunction with this there arises the necessity of making changes in the Statute of our party, in order to define clearly and unequivocally the obligation of applying Leninist norms of intra-party life and the principle of the socialist democracy, the collectivity of work of party echelons and organizations, as well as firm consistency in the implementation of proposals, the openness of intra-party life, the establishment of the number of terms an elected official may serve, adherence to the permanent regulations for the election of authorities and delegates, the right to criticize, the specification of tasks of workers of the party apparatus as well as of the criteria for the selection of such workers, periodic evaluations and checks, an increase in the autonomy of POP and in their rights, the distribution of party functions and administrative duties.

However, it is only the absolute and decisive adherence to the party Statute which can impart to it a high standing and restore the normalization of intra-party life and respect for Leninist principles within the party. This much apply in equal measure to all echelons and party organizations, as well as all members and member-candidates of the PZPR.

Not only the party, but the whole society, awaits the Congress. Our highest hopes lie in the party program worked out during the course of pre-Congress discussion, to be approved at the Congress. This program will be the only right road to lead us out of our economic and sociopolitical crisis.

(signed) Jerzy Trzesniewski, secretary PZPR Factory Committee, "Warszawa" Foundry

Exploitation of Opportunities

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, Apr 81 pp 16-17

["Text" of speech by Zbigniew Kielminski, secretary PZPR University Committee, Warsaw University to representatives of Warsaw University and "Warszawa" Foundry party organizations on 27 February 1981]

[Text] The deep crisis which has surfaced in many spheres of our public life has become at once a crisis of the party's role and of the political leader. The party has been confronted with the necessity of executing changes in leadership, purging itself of discredited individuals and of those lacking in ideals, as well as with the incomparably greater task of making the necessary critical evaluations of heretofore forms and methods of political and organizational operation. The present crisis has confronted our party with an uncommonly severe test, but it has also created a unique opportunity for the party to cast off everything which had been destroying the party's authority, had been weakening its ties with the working class and had been enervating its ability to operate in an effective manner, a manner that met with society's approval. What should we do in order not to waste this opportunity? Comrade Trzesniewski posed this question. It is a question which embraces the sense of party work in recent months, the sense of preparations for the Congress and of the concretization of the expectations we have of the Congress.

It is obvious that the solution of our situation in Poland requires that the party undertake a decisive political initiative. It must be not only an active participant, but a real promoter of changes in social life. We must undertake this initiative under conditions of sharp political struggle, in which we must strive to ensure that we do not diverge from the course of socialist renewal, become entangled in unfruitful internal quarrels or the unproductive rehashing of our mistakes. At the same time, we should be aware of the many weaknesses which continue to exist in the party, phenomena which attest to disintegration and political washing of the hands, to yielding to political opponents, to the excessive formalization of structures, to an inability to adapt quickly and decisively to new and changing conditions of operation at all levels, beginning with the basic organizations and ending with the central directorate.

This is not a complete list of our weaknesses. All of these things create obstacles to the now indispensable consolidation of party ranks, to the overcoming of diffusiveness horizontally and of many artificial barriers vertically. We still are not able to cope with two marginal, destructive tendencies: the first, excessive centralism based on the total identification of party strengths and effectiveness with the vertical reining in into submission; the second, the

dangerous tendency toward particularism, which causes the party to be treated as an association of discussion clubs incapable of unified action.

Despite these and other weaknesses we believe that the party's political offensive is not only possible but simply necessary. We see the chances of success of such an offensive in the overcoming of the overwhelming sense of powerlessness that is felt by party masses to discuss the mistakes of the past in order to learn a lesson from them and to extract the constructive elements of the former program; in replacing contacts "for show" by real ties between the various party elements; and finally, in overcoming the mutual distrust that exists among the particular elements of the vertical structure, and effecting more and more harmonious cooperation.

In the university organization, we have gradually moved from very general discussion, in which the accents of sharp and spontaneous criticism mixed with a deep disquiet concerning the direction of the development of the domestic political situation, to the working out of concrete positions in matters crucial to the continued operation of the party, its stance and its program. Recurring periods of sharpening political tension in Poland and at the university did not hamper this positive trend. Specialized issues teams began to work out of the University Committee and within some party organizations. We have undertaken attempts to engage in very close contact with other party organizations in the Warsaw scholarly milieu and with universities throughout the whole country.

As a result of these efforts, several documents and in-depth papers have emerged, which are presently being discussed at party meetings. We wish to subject these papers to the broad scrutiny of the party. We do not hide the fact that we are particularly interested in making ties with the milieu of the macroindustrial working class, since, to tell the truth, these ties until now have been very sporadic and ceremonial rather than working ties. We believe that today's meeting will bring about a change in this state of things.

We are convinced that a key problem is the situation within the party. The Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress will be of decisive significance to this problem. Our circle attaches great importance to the fact that delegates to the Congress should be selected by secret ballot from among an unlimited number of candidates, and in a direct manner by the basic party organizations [PCP's].

We place great hope in the calling of the Congress. It appears obvious that the extraordinary Congress should establish, in the form of a Statute, the principles and methods underlying the party's execution of its leadership role, as well as democratic changes in the structures and forms of party operation, in accordance with universal expectations.

We have advanced many proposals in this regard. They are very similar to the proposals spoken of by Comrade Trzesniewski, and they are in complete agreement with his proposals. They aim at democratizing electoral procedures in accordance with the principles of secrecy and directness, without limiting the number of candidates. We propose solutions which have as a goal increasing the role of collective bodies in the party and strengthening the real precedence of representative echelons over executive echelons. This is tied in with demands for

rotation, and for the separation of specific functions with regard to party and state positions. We also point out forms of horizontal ties, which, in our opinion, confront the party with such rules of the selection of the party apparatus as increase its efficiency and also consolidate its service functions with regard to echelons. Within the framework of the Party Coordination Commission, of the Warsaw scientific circle we have worked out the draft of a Statute in which we devote particular attention to strengthening the basic organizations, expanding their powers and their significance to the total structure of our party.

We attach the greatest importance to the program itself. The Extraordinary Congress should formulate a program which will at once serve party consolidation and the stabilization of the general political situation in Poland. We are convinced that that, the lack of which the entire society feels most intensely, is the sense of lasting security and the possibility to meet their basic needs. Economic reform is an indispensable, but, at the same time, an insufficient condition for overcoming the existing crisis. What is indispensable is a reliable social program. We expect the Extraordinary Congress to develop a truly reliable program, i.e., that sort of program which is not at cross purposes with universal notions of socialist justice and social equality.

Here two observations come to mind that are of primary significance not only for future party policy, but for current party policy as well.

First, the demand for the full, consequential settling of accounts with those persons responsible for the crisis should not only be viewed as a manifestation of emotional reactions against real or imaginary excesses. In our opinion, it is society's reaction against the clear violation of the elemental sense of socialist justice and equality, now freed after a long period of latency. And as for the fact that our party's opponents are taking advantage of this understandable reaction of society for their own political purposes, that is a different, completely separate matter.

Second, the restoration of the principles of justice and equality to their rightful place in the hierarchy of social goals and, what is no less important, daily life, is an indispensable, initial condition for the effective counteraction of all who treat the renewal process as their own program, covertly or even overtly striking at the fundamental principles of socialism.

(signed) Zbigniew Kielminski, secretary PZPR University Committee, Warsaw University

8536

CSO: 2600/245

'WIEZ' COMMENTARIES ON CURRENT ISSUES NOTED

Negotiation on People-State Rights

Warsaw WIEZ in Polish No 2, Feb 81 pp 142-144

[Article by B.B.: "Social Negotiations of Rights"]

[Text] The post-strike agreements from Szczecin, Gdansk and Jastrzebie were something unusual in our sociopolitical life not only from the standpoint of their content. They also constitute a precedent of making use of a government agency (and at the same time a method of negotiating relations between the government and society) which is not clearly anticipated in the constitution, but which of course, is consistent with the principles declared therein: it is based on negotiating rights pertaining to various social groups between their true representatives and state authority.

Besides the post-strike agreements in the last months of 1980, we had several practical examples of the implementation of social rights negotiation (although not without various disturbances taking place). A decree by the minister of science, higher education and technology relative to student organizations negotiated point by point between the ministry leadership and representatives of the Independent Student Union [NZS] came into being. A special commission in the State Council, comprised of representatives of state authorities, "Solidarity" and industrial sector unions concluded work on detailed assumptions for a new law on labor unions. Work proceeded in the Ministry of Justice on "grinding out" a draft of a law controlling publications and spectacles in which representatives of interested social groups participated.

Adoption of the method of social negotiations of rights as a regular element of public life would mean a significant step forward on the road to democracy and fulfill the principles of "nothing from us without us." The "grinding out of rights" between executive authority organs and representatives of the public does not infringe the Sejm's official authority, but constitutes true supplementation of parliamentarism which, in our circumstances, added highly restricted guarantees to the democracy of the lawmaking process. First, looking at the matter only from a formal viewpoint, the Sejm is not the sole lawmaker. There exists a broad area of outside lawmaking activity discharged mainly by administrative organs over which the Sejm does not have authority. Secondly, even

where the Sejm appears de jure as lawmaker, the actual legislative process shows the domination of the bureaucratic factor. A predominant portion of the drafts of laws are government drafts prepared at the inspiration of various government offices by ministries which later are to use the drafted regulations. Even if Sejm committees introduce amendments, the composition of the Sejm and its method of operation, as well as the selection of Sejm experts, does not in each case guarantee proper consideration of the interests of the social groups to which a given statute pertains.

Social negotiation of rights is in no position to replace the long utilized practice of regulation draft "agreements" between various government institutions, cooperatives, social organizations, etc., to which the "piloting" institution distributes drafts in accordance with a distribution index. This is constantly a process of interbureaucratic negotiation serving the reconciliation of the particular interests of interbureaucratic institutions, (social organizations of a greater degree of conformism and lesser degree of bureaucratization, in general, were beyond reach of the distribution index).

Institutions engaged in the social negotiation of laws cannot also be identified with the "social consultations" of the 1970s. It turned out that without the emergence of true public representatives who participate in negotiations as a partner with full rights, the submission of a draft for "social consultation" was a ritual activity serving as a screen for various arbitrary decisions.

Utilization of the opportunity which the method of social negotiation of laws gives, depends on the behavior of decisionmakers in the state apparatus, as well as on the behavior of social groups. Insofar as the former are concerned, what is needed is a change in mentality and habits, and a recognition that governing by agreements with the people is not a sign of weakness, but an indispensable condition of the effectiveness and public acceptance of authority. The use of this method not just for the sake of appearances also requires preparation by the public. When the other side to a negotiation is an interested social group as such then, in effect, the partner is undefined for the authorities, something that nullifies the possibility of true negotiation and reduces the situation to a "consultation" facade on the order of the 1970s. Hence, public groups must be represented in negotiations by emergence of the elite. This elite is already a fact when it comes to workers, creative circles and students, while in other social groups, on the other hand, (particularly amid individual farmers), we have to do at present with the process of "in statu nascendi" [the status quo].

The discernment of the real interests of a group represented by a given elite, as well as an identification with those interests during negotiations, entitles one to say that the elite has a special public mandate which, however, is not synonymous with its competence. Experience to date in the area of social negotiation has already shown that good intentions and support of the group will not by themselves suffice, but that also necessary is a deep knowledge of the economic, social and legal aspects of the subject undernegotiation. The understandable improvisation of the heated days of 1980 must give way to solid, methodical expertise.

Lifestyle, Consumer Ambitions

Warsaw WIEZ in Polish No 2, Feb 81 p1

[Article by Bogumil Luft: "Sluggards or Stakhanovites"]

[Text] We know today that Andrzej Wajda's "Man of Marble" will find its continuation. One of the first scenes in "The Man of Iron"--according to the director's public assurances--is the now legendary scene in the cemetery (missing from the film version of the preceding movie) in which Agnieszka unsuccessfully seeks the grave of Birkut who died tragically in December 1970. This scene will remain as if it were the closing of the first act--history has already added a continuation to it. Thus, Birkut is not alive--that was said publicly. His death is a complete tangle of symbols. It also personifies the departure, the already long dead myth of the hero of work. Not only how far off from us he went remains of interest to us, but also what deeper meanings that departure carries in it.

For Birkut the man who laid several 10,000 bricks in the course of one workday was of greater value than the one who laid only several thousand. Therefore, it would be inaccurate to say that his self-respect was born of work--rather, its source was usefulness. Birkut seemingly overcame alienation--actually, however, he was a manipulated object, a person set out for sale, productively calculated and exposed to an auction called competition. All of this independent of his subjective feeling (despite certain opinions one has heard, I am convinced that the protests of former work leaders published in the press following the premiere of the film were completely true); this idea could have stimulated intensive reconstruction in the country after the war, at a time of great hopes for advancement and achievement, during the beautiful period of the Polish Youth Union [ZMP] romanticism. However, who is Birkut's son, the "Man of Iron" of 1980 and 1981? It could appear that he is simply a sluggard. In the main, he demands the raising of his living conditions--salary and fringe benefits, shorter work hours, and finally, that the compensation of those lowest paid, usually the least productive, be increased. Perhaps it is not a mistake to say that at the present moment a Polish worker rather does not like to work. He does, however, have consumption aspirations. The situation would be hopeless if not for the fact that that indisposition to work has specified reasons which can be eliminated. I believe that many Poles believe as does Lech Walesa when he says, that we are even ready to work every Saturday, if the government will only give an exact account of the bad state of the economy and propose a convincing program of action out of the economic impasse for the entire nation. People are suspicious, they are afraid of being manipulated again (or, not only not having any influence on shaping the goal of collective effort, but not even knowing what that goal is), they do not want to be driven to work. "Work is (...) a basic measure of human existence here on earth," said the Pope to miners in Czestochowa, "for man it possesses not only a technical meaning but also an ethical meaning. This much can be said, that man subordinates the land to him through work, to the extent that man turns out to be the master and not a slave of the land, as well as the master and not a slave of work." Probably Birkut did not feel himself driven to work, nonetheless, he somehow remained a slave to it, because he did not choose its purpose but only served for its maximally effective realization.

Today, however, at the moment when the influence of the entire working community on formulating the goals of collective effort has been strengthened, we face problems for which our imagination does not appear to be too well prepared. When Walesa repeats many times on various occasions that Poland has a chance of becoming a second Japan (this statement is a mix of coquetry and real belief in that possibility) then he seems to forget, that the Japanese did not begin at all from shortening work hours, demanding the development of social services (development, which must increase the state's bureaucratic machine from somewhere else), they did not begin from egalitarianism and patronage, but only from the hard, murderous, disciplined work of poor human swarms--in a word, that it was dirty capitalism of a kind which the majority of Poles would not like, if they recognized it. This does not mean that the poor Japanese recognized it, it only means that the Poles are not Japanese. However, the basic question formulated by the words of that metaphor asks: Actually, why should Poland become a Japan? Do we really want that? Do we want supertechnical cities--ant hills, an accelerated tempo, pollution of the environment, the interference of modern technology in our entire physical and mental life, consumption, consumption, consumption, and work, work, work. At first glance, the problem appears to be a purely academic one, however, it translates into the hard facts of the reality surrounding us. Here is Minister Obodowski on television early in January announcing somewhat sarcastically that the government can make agreements with society to introduce all Saturdays off, and at the same time stating, that according to data in his possession, the drop in production brought about by such an agreement would be reflected in a drop of about 8 percent in the standard of living (if I remember correctly). The fact of the matter is that I would willingly enter into an agreement with the minister in this way, and not at all because I would not believe the percentages furnished (as many people do not out of force of habit), but because I believed them. The problem as I see it, is that most Poles do not want agreements on such terms, and while simultaneously not trusting the government (something to be sure which is a citizen's right but which sometimes can turn out to be his mistake), quietly believes that all free Saturdays "will pass" without particular decreases in their standard of living. There also is no lack of those who, frightened by a vision of general poverty, declare their wish to work on Saturdays, as well as those for whom free time is associated with chasing around empty stores and the boredom produced by an incompetence to use it in a creative way.

One additional motivation has not emerged sufficiently in the countless calculations of the 1970s. During that period, Poland committed itself to a spiral of consumption ambitions. Despite the fact that there is relatively little for consumption, and sometimes precisely because of this, we experience more and more strongly problems and pressures which are appropriate to consumption societies. The shock of the unusually rapid industrialization and urbanization in the 1950's and 1960's, unusual and fascinating in a certain sense, crushed itself by serious illnesses of the social organism, which like every organism, does not tolerate violent changes. A similar shock (though, in essence somewhat less strong, because it occurred more in the symbiotic than in the material area) was--I dare say--the magic of consumable trinkets and the myth of spectacular development in the 1970's. I recall the press attacks which appeared here several years ago in response to reports by the Club of Rome. Frequently a tone of mystic indignation sounded through them, a tone which Western ideologues of unbridled development would not be ashamed of. If development as such could have been

doubtful, then that could happen only in the West (one highly placed student activist when asked by a Swiss television reporter about the attitude of Polish students to ecological problems, reportedly answered that those were problems associated with the class nature of the capitalist society). Perhaps it is necessary today to reflect on what we want for Poland in the future? What kind of lifestyle and consumption for us? Consume more, or work less, and spend free time creatively? Constantly complain against the state that it is a bad nurse, or whether by social activity make up the deficiencies of state services? Real development does not express itself in percentages describing consumption growth but in society's know-how in taking responsibility for its future in an appropriate and creative manner. Truly then, it depends on the wise weighing of values which are to be realized in the common life of the society.

Intelligentsia as Regards Current Situation

Warsaw WIEZ in Polish No 2, Feb 81 pp 146-148

[Article by Wojciech Gudy: "Polish Intelligentsia"]

[Text] It is not popular today to write about a social group which in our country is rather inaccurately called the "intelligentsia." Largely as the result of the action of defense mechanisms, or because of the lack of understanding of social mechanisms, odium has fallen on this class after August. Piotr Wierzbicki's excessivenesses set records, although proper impetuosity is also a virtue. I would like to dedicate this column to him. I believe that he is making a flagrant error "pars pro toto" [mistaking a part for the whole]: I believe in the power of silent resistance by the majority.

Although the leading mental feature distinguished now in the publications of the Polish intelligentsia of the last decade is cynicism, the structural foundation of the "loss of face" crisis however, is expressed by the archetype of Stanislaw Wyspianski's "Wesele."

The crisis created by the loss of contact with broader social layers is a deadly crisis for the intelligentsia. Detachment--either through the inadequacy of its own visions and evaluations, or through planned administrative isolation--from society, and the creation of values and ideas "without meaning" is destructive for the intelligentsia. A feeling of intellectual responsibility becomes a vanishing phenomenon in such a situation. Appropriately, the conception of the intelligentsia class takes on the qualities of amorphism and loses its compactness (this is emphasized by K. Puzyna in POLITYKA No 43, 1980 in the article "Surprised"). Our proverbial "Drama of a Polish Intellectual" is based on this. Thus, an account pertaining to losses, rescues, abuses and faults must of necessity take into account the broader socioeconomic context. The need for such a quiet reckoning imposes itself. Journalists and sociologists who would undertake a reckoning ought, on grounds of elementary objectivity, guard against evaluations used to defend someone's interests and to base their diagnoses on the principle which I define as an immanent feature of the Polish intelligentsia, that I call a feeling of responsibility.

Namely, it concerns the faithfulness of the Polish intellectual's position toward his nation and people. Also, the clear and sharp foreseeing of dangers which threaten axiological circles, as well as the existentialism of the public's life, nonconformist signals and warnings to the nation, sensitivity to falsehood and lies, and moral scrupulosity.

It is an obvious matter that in the light of such criteria of evaluation of the Polish intelligentsia in periods in which the political-mental climate imposed only a compound alternative of choices: conformity or heroism--that the same people who spoke unceremoniously and loudly to affirm those times in the periods mentioned, cannot after August, form an opinion. They are not the ones who ought in any case to acknowledge the justice of past times because in their time they railed at justice.

After all, there are persons in Poland who have a right to such assessment. For, if conscious and active anticipation, and cooperation, solidarity with the indignation movement and the labor protest of 1980 is taken as a reference point, then the total picture of the Polish intelligentsia which appears is substantially differentiated. It is neither so optimistic as doing a retrospection to speak in general of the creative cooperation of the Polish intelligentsia with the workers class (W. Rogowski in KULTURA No 38, 1980). But the conclusion proclaiming that intellectuals have felt the bitterness of remaining in the rear guard is also false and deforming.

The matter of division is not so simple. It is advisable to observe certain boundaries in an apparently homogeneous map, even if those boundaries are bitter for some. Not all of the Polish intelligentsia have lost sight of the social and cultural tradition handed to them for fulfillment by tradition and has surrendered themselves to cranking out a comfortable business outlook mirage. There were those--it is necessary to emphasize this with full clarity--who for a long time felt themselves responsible for the true and genuine consciousness of working people, which Marxism somewhat inaccurately calls the workers class. A portion of the Polish intelligentsia ignored the opposed attitude of the official flow of propaganda and administrative pressures, resisted the pressure built up in society, and bravely and persistently cooperated with the workers, particularly from 1976. It did this in various fields and in a varied way. August was not born in an intellectual vacuum.

The importance of the present period is based, among other things, on showing and loudly declaring that the continuity of its national and social mission has been preserved among a Polish intelligentsia differentiated with respect to international outlook and mentality. This continuation was made possible by the dramatic action of some representatives of the intelligentsia as well as by the stubbornness and zeal alike of those who, at a distance from the "facade" and without concern of a reproach of grotesqueness, created new structures of social existence in Poland, and the nonconformism and wisdom of those who created new structures of social consciousness despite the fact that they were reduced to vocational nonexistence, built this massive, quiet and solid refusal whose symbol today is August. The efforts alike of those who chose the struggle with censorship and decided to take the risk of the futility of their publications,

as well as the decision of others who themselves shelved their texts. It is not possible to forget the worthy and faithful attitude toward the church by the majority of the Polish Catholic intelligentsia. It is also impossible to forget and to omit with silence the ineffective anonymous struggle for the presence in the collective consciousness of Poles--though on "the backs of official culture"--of outstanding works of Polish and world literature. Nor should the loud debate on the constitution be forgotten. Soft and louder protests, letters on which there were no lack of signatures by those who felt a responsibility because of their position in this country, these are facts which demand public resurrection.

This is an important way of disclosing anew the place, role and standing of the intelligentsia in the Polish social consciousness. It is a way of resurrecting the mission which the intelligentsia has to fulfill in Poland.

Lawyers Regarding Current Situation

Warsaw WIEZ in Polish, No 2, Feb 81 pp 149-151

[Article by W.F.: "The Voice of the Bar"]

[Text] The problems which have pervaded the bar for a long time were the subject of deliberations at the National Bar Conference in Poznan early in January of this year. It was an untypical conference: not only was it the first in 21 years, but it was devoid of the highest bar self-government authority because it was acting in an extra-legal capacity. The statute on the bar in effect since 1963, does not, in general, anticipate the conference institution as the highest authority of the Polish bar. That function is placed in the hands of the Supreme Bar Council [NRA]. It evoked dissatisfaction and the frustration of the group from the beginning. After the August breakthrough, however, lawyers started to demand a special conference. They wished not only to discuss matters of the most importance for their profession, but above all, their country, and to express their position about the changes taking place. Conference participants first recorded their approval of the agreements concluded in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, as well as the democratic transformations in the country, and placed special emphasis on problems associated with law and order, the function of the administration of justice, under which title many weighty reproaches were uttered during the course of deliberations. Special emphasis was also included in the resolution on the necessity of greater respect for citizens' rights, among others, by incorporating the Human Rights Covenants ratified by Poland in 1977 into the Polish legal system, introducing true judicial control over provisional arrests, and making appropriate changes in prison regulations consonant with international conventions accepted by Poland. Bar representatives also expressed themselves decisively against all difficulties and restrictions based on differences of opinion. There was also talk about the repressions to which political defendants were exposed, particularly in the Radom and Ursus trials, which, until recently, were looked at in an entirely different way than at present. Penal defendants were exposed to insults and indignities even in courthouses, and their personal immunity was exposed to harm more than once. It is significant that neither the authorities of the administration of justice, nor the organs of lawyer self-rule came to their assistance.

The position of a lawyer and the situation in which he accomplishes his profession were the major subjects of conference deliberations. Along with this, there was talk not only of the role of a lawyer in executing his professional duties but also of the possibility of the bar as an influencing factor in public affairs particularly in the initiation and modification of laws and strengthening law and order. Participants were in agreement that this impact was very limited, and that the bar's opinion on many matters of real significance for society is simply being overlooked. The bar does not participate in the legislative process and reviews the drafts of statutes rarely and rather accidentally. Not one of its representatives has a seat on the Legislative Council. Lawyers do not take part in passing judgment on guiding rules and resolutions of the Supreme Court, although the procurator general does this as a rule. Although official enunciations emphasize the important role of the bar as a factor with full rights in the administration of justice, these words have been only an empty phrase for a long time. Anyway, the position of a lawyer in a trial, particularly a penal trial, actually departs in a rather substantial manner from legal assumptions which speak about the equality of parties. This equality is illusory if note is taken of the defender's insignificant participation in the investigation when every action of his is dependent on the public prosecutor's permission. It happens that the defense's findings of proof submitted at this stage of the case, and without its knowledge (lack of access to the records of the proceedings in the case) do not produce the expected result and only prolong the preliminary proceedings. These are always unfavorable for someone deprived of liberty. Because of this, lawyers appear unwillingly in investigation and concentrate their activity on the court trial. However, they then find themselves in a substantially more difficult position than the accused. The proof material has already been collected, and even if the accused or witnesses recant explanations and statements in the courtroom which they furnished during investigation, the court very rarely believes them because it has confidence in the investigation findings. Whatever has once been established during investigation is thus difficult to overthrow during the court trial. Meanwhile, the investigative material is not always collected in a manner consistent with the demands of good work, and what is worse, with law and order. Much was said at the conference (similar opinions can be heard since the conference, for example, in the courts) about the inadmissible investigation methods which are supposed to lead to rapid and favorable conclusions for examiners (that means admission of guilt). They are based primarily on the use of force.

This problem has grown more aggravated particularly in recent years since the major part of the investigations are made not by the public prosecutor but by the police acting on his instructions and, theoretically, supervision. However, taking into consideration the fact that suspects who have been arrested are not only isolated but are deprived of defense, are turned over completely to investigative interrogating officers (let us add, that more than once they have been placed in military confinement instead of in penal institutions subordinated to the Ministry of Justice). This type of situation does not favor the honest conduct of investigation and undermines the value of its findings. Therefore, bar representatives gathered in Poznan, demanded first of all a reform in the preliminary procedure to permit lawyer participation in examination beginning with the first hearing, as well as placing preliminary procedures, especially

provisional arrests under actual court control. They pointed out, not without merit, that restricting the lawyer's role in the preliminary proceedings constitutes a de facto restriction on the citizens' rights of the accused, particularly their constitutional right to defense. The problem of lawyer autonomy also occupied a prominent place in the conference's deliberations. This autonomy, strongly limited by the 1963 law on a bar under the close supervision of the minister of justice, does not have the possibility of freedom of action. Like other groups in our country, lawyers are currently asking that they be granted substantially greater freedom to choose self-government authorities in secret and democratic elections, as well as for the Bar Conference, so that it may arbitrate the most important problems of this group. Finally, there is hope that these proposals can be fulfilled. Work has already begun on the drafting of new legislation concerning the bar which will meet the legal profession's needs and aspirations.

The Polish Bar has beautiful and rich traditions to which conference participants in Poznan addressed themselves. It also nurtures aspirations to occupying its rightful position in society. This appears to be fully justified. It is impossible to imagine a modern democratic society in which the voice of the bar would not be esteemed and be suppressed.

Recent Filming Reports Discussed

Warsaw WIEZ in Polish No 2, Feb 81 pp 151-152

[Article by K.Z.K.: "Forum of Political Culture"]

[Text] Panel discussions on what could be called "hot subjects," such as those prompted by current events, have now become a custom every Monday at 1800 hours in the headquarters of the Association of Polish Journalists [SDP]. Our ordinary day ceased being a quiet and ordinary day since August of last year; thus it is understandable that the problems discussed at the Monday meetings are weighty and evoke understandable interest. All of us, of course, are seeking an unfailing recipe for healing the republic.

"All of this has already been" is said by those who remember the initiative of the Crooked Circle Club [KOKK], as well as the Catholic Intelligentsia Club [KIK]. Actually, the "SDP Forum"--for that is what the spectacle on Foksal St is called--undertook similar activity, activity which inspires thinking and discussion about the most difficult and important matters. I say the same, however, it is not the same.

A group of journalists with Jerzy Mikke at the head, constitutes the "Forum" Program Council and set itself an ambitious task. It involved not only the creation of a political culture club with all of the consequences that such a formula brings with it, and more than just a tolerance for viewpoints which differ from one's own. The specificity of the Forum is based on the fact, that not only do persons representing various viewpoints, including those with opposing viewpoints, take part in the panel discussions, but so do various centers of our sociopolitical structure. Because--and this is happening in this type of show for the first time--theoreticians, decisionmakers and representatives

of every-day practice sit down at a green table. This trimember formula: 1) theoretical assumptions; 2) the viewpoint of decision centers, and 3) daily practice, creates a unique opportunity not only of understanding the situation in which we have found ourselves, but also the means which are essential to change it.

This condition favored the taking up of any subject at eight Monday meetings which have taken place to date (the first one on 1 December 1980). Let us recall some: "The Most Important Problem--Agricultural Reform," "Censorship--but What Kind?," "Workers '56, '70, '80--Transformations in Awareness," "Ostensible or Genuine Movement: Youth 81," "Agricultural Policy--Theory and Reality," "The World of Work, The World of Authority." It is understandable that the materials from these meetings have a unique value and are priceless. On the other hand, the conclusions which present themselves as a result of these meetings will undoubtedly be varied. Let them be that way. This, after all, is not the place to take up that matter. One thing, however, appears to be important and worthy of emphasis.

Namely, this initiative was first of all, to have served to stimulate and cure our journalistic environment as well as to unify it. Although not only that. The fact of the atomization and diffusion of all sociocultural groups and centers was evident for a long time and was reflected negatively during our entire life. The "SDP Forum" can play an integrating role for such groups and centers, and do so to a great degree.

It can be said that a crossbar has been placed at a rather high level before all interested centers. Will the level of our political culture match it?--that is an open question.

Current Role of Documentary Films

Warsaw WIEZ in Polish No 2, Feb 81 pp 152-154

[Article by Grzegorz Eberhard: "Why Documentary Films Production"]

[Text] Why, writing in WIEZ about a documentary film does one in most cases cite titles of films made by Documentary Films Production [WFD]? Besides it, there are of course several other studios which also produce documentary films. Such a reproach could be addressed to me after a reading of several articles printed recently in this section. Hence, I am anticipating the question and will try to explain.

In general, no one likes quiet or routine--surely those conditions are not a threat where a constant threat exists. For no less than 10 years something has been constantly threatening the WFD enterprise. In 1970, it was in danger of being sucked up by a Moloch called television. What did this threaten? Please turn on your television set! An equally unceasing danger to the enterprise was its management (it still is). Somehow it could never understand that it was brought into being to serve its workers wisely and not to hamper them in their work. Less noticeable, but also a dangerous threat, was (and still is) the flood of so-called commissioned films. It is nice to go to the bank (no censor, no

production problems). This flood was so intensive that at one point it threatened a change in the name of the enterprise to Commissioned Films Production [WFZ].

However, WFD comes out of this victoriously. This happens thanks to the attitude of the people working for it (it is clear, not the attitudes of those in director's chairs). It can be said very very briefly that this happened as it did thanks to the unity and solidarity of the documentalists connected with WFD.

In December 1980, widespread publicity was given (to be sure, only in the film world), to the crew of Lodz Educational Films Production. It was taking pictures for an A. Sobolewski film entitled "December 1970," when one day it received an order from its management to break off its work immediately and return to Lodz. The less said about management's reasons the better, (particularly since there were none), let us talk only about the facts. The director decided to stay and continue the filming, particularly because certain nonrecurrable scenes from a documentary viewpoint were to be filmed just then: the unveiling of the monument in honor of the December victims in Gdynia. Thus, apparently, everything was in order, however, not too much so, since the technical crew traveling in a Robur stationwagon from Gdansk to Gdynia, suddenly changed its course for Lodz, and left the remaining crew in Gdynia. A similar history (almost), this time, however, about the fortunes of the WFD. In January 1981, this crew found itself taking pictures for Andrzej Piekutowski's film "Rural Self-Government" (a strike action organized in the city and parish office of Ustrzyki Dolne), received a telegram from its director ordering the immediate discontinuance of filming and return to the capitol. Seemingly, the battle was lost, but then no one was disassembling the equipment, or turning off the lights. A part of the crew could have returned to Warsaw in the Robur. The crew's attitude, supported by the quick reaction of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union's [NSZZ] film "Solidarity," and the intervention of the Association of Polish Filmmakers [SFP] soon changed management's decision. The previous telegram was cancelled after a few hours, just about the time when it would already have been possible for the crew to be in the capitol's suburbs.

This is perhaps a good example of the atmosphere reigning in WFD. The work in it is interesting and so are its results. These results, as heretofore, are little known to the broader mass of viewers. A documentary about the Warsaw motion picture theater "Non-stop" was promised for release in March 1981. "Non-stop" is a theater remembered from the 1960's which had to be reckoned with at least once a week. But what about viewers from other cities and the Polish countryside?

As long as I dared to flatter my WFD colleagues, I cannot but speak of something that is rarely met in other groups. I am thinking of optimism. Of the optimism which links them (us)--despite the variability of the atmosphere and the situation. There was an optimism (not the one created by August), for years, and it was this which assuredly helped to defend against the temptations of television and to nullify other threats.

This atmosphere allowed fighting for the production of films, even in the worst years, which off-the-top appeared to be destined for shelving. It turned out that the reproaches that it would not be worthwhile to make something which would

not be worthwhile to make something which would not be shown, did not survive the test of time. Those films have today left the shelves, and have given the firm a good name. The name WFD does not sound so strange to people today.

The August optimism underwent a certain reevaluation but it has not dimmed. And it is indispensable, nay, more necessary, it seems. The post-August enthusiasm is long since past, it has frequently been replaced by very dangerous catastrophism and fear for the future--a fear which can paralyze many people. Fortunately, such catatonia cannot be observed in the documentary film field. The fears which torment it are of an entirely different type.

The documentary film is radically changing its face. It is transforming from a critic and an inspectorate to a recorder and witness of events. Such subjects are being produced in Documentary Films Production as "Solidarity" (Director B. Kosinski), "Students" (Director M. Lozinski), "Rural Self-Government" (Director A. Piekutowski), or themes connected with the mechanism of power (Director J. Gebski) or about the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) "Solidarity," Mazowsze Region (Director I. Kamienska). It can be said that there is no important subject which creators from WFD would not take as their goal. Attention should also be drawn to the fact that the role of the documentary film has changed to a certain extent. The documentary has ceased to be a commentary, an interpretation or intervention. It has become exclusively a record. This is the requirement of the moment, which assuredly, however, is a problem for the authors of such sharp and critical films as, for example, "Microphone Test" (Lozinski), "The Watch" (Kosinski) or "Female Workers" (Kamienska).

It could be that the result of this period of WFD work will not be a couple of films of various authorship, but that one film-report will appear about the strange days in which we live. The producer will of course be Documentary Films Production.

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